KOTI CHENNAYA

A FOLKLORISTIC STUDY

Kannada original

Dr. Vamana Nandavara

Translation

Shankara Narayana Dooja Poojary

An English version of Kannada original titled KOTI CHENNAYA – Jānapadīya Adhyayana

Dr. Vamana Nandavara

KOTI CHENNAYA

A FOLKLORISTIC STUDY

Translation

Shankara Narayana Dooja Poojary

(SND POOJARY)

Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy

Tulu Bhavana, Urva Stores, Mangaluru

ಕೋಟಿ ಚೆನ್ನಯ : ಜಾನಪದೀಯ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ

Koti Chennaya : A Folkloristic Study

KOTI CHENNAYA : A Folkloristic Study
A Doctoral dissertation
Koti Chennaya : Jānapadīya Adhyayana
previously published in Kannada by
Dr. Vamana Nandavara
and rendered into English by
Shankara Narayana Dooja Poojary
(SND POOJARY)
C. D. Jubilee Centre, La Campala Colony,
Miramar – Goa: 403 001
Mobile : 09422442761
Email: shankarpoojary2003@yahoo.co.in

Publisher
Chandrahasa Rai B.
Registrar, Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy
Mangaluru - 575 003
Tel: 0824 2459389

© Karnataka Tulu Sahithya Academy

First Impression : 2015
Paper used : 80 gsm NS Maplitho Size : Cr. 1/4
Pages : 312 (xvi+284+ col xii)
Price : Rs. 500
Cover Photo : **Gururaj Sanil**
Cover image Courtesy : Kurkal Garodi, Udupi Distirct
Cover Design : **Kallur Nagesh**
Designed & printed at :
Aakrithi Prints
Light House Hill Road, Mangaluru - 1
Phone : 0824 2443002

Foreword

Dr. Vamana Nandavara is a senior researcher in the field of Tulu Folklore and he has contributed much in various genres, particularly on Tulu oral epics. Among the large galaxy of Tulu oral epics, Koti Chennaya and Siri epics are considered major twin epics with different themes and different cultural identities.

'Koti Chennaya' epic has wider a connotation ranging from mythology, legend, ritual performance, theatre and so on, based on a long epic which has survived through oral tradition. The twin heroes belonging to the Billava community, are identified as exemplars of self-respect and revolutionists in breaking the caste and class hierarchy based on owning the land and cultivating ones own land.

Dr.Vamana Nandavara has collected different versions of the epic of Koti Chennaya from different singers and studied them from a multi-disciplinary approach. He has also explored the cultural -geographical details based on the epic texts and also on the data collected from oral sources. He has studied the correlation between the epic text and performance text and has arrived at some interesting revelations. He has also explored the geographical distribution of the Garodis (shrines) of Koti Chennaya and given some socio-cultural account of such a distribution. The physical symbols and worship patterns are discussed here.

One more major contribution of Dr.Nandavara is his discussion on the deity 'Bermer'. 'Bermer ' is a very complex deity in Tulu cultural heritage and there are different interpretations of 'Bermer'. The correlation between Bermer and Koti Chennaya is a basic structure, which can be compared with deities and cultural heroes/ heroines of Tulu oral tradition who have mythological and ritualistic relations with Bermer.

In this research work, Dr. Nandavara has also concentrated on 'twinship' which is an archetype and recurs in different modes in the manifestations of Tuluva culture. His detailed discussion on the concept of 'twinship' and deification of twins has much comparative space. In Koti Chennaya epic, the twin heroes are

complementary to each other and thereby they consolidate the strength to combat the oppressive forces in the feudal social system.

Dr. Nandavara's dissertation is a master piece in the area of the study of Koti Chennaya and has paved the way for further research. The original thesis of Dr.Vamana Nandavara, which was in Kannada, has been translated into English in a standard way by Mr. S.N.D. Poojary. The English translation has the flavour and essence of the original work, though the task is very challenging to translate the Tulu indigenous cultural diction into English. Mr. S.N.D. Poojary has successfully did it, since he has the grass root knowledge of Tulu cultural milieu, particularly the Koti Chennaya epic and ritual.

I am happy to congratulate Dr.Vamana Nandavara for his excellent research work on Koti Chennaya, which is a path finder in that subject. I am also pleased to congratulate Mr. S.N.D. Poojary for his painstaking hard work of English translation, which will open up for comparative studies on oral epics of the world.

Mangalore
November 10, 2015

Prof. B.A.Viveka Rai

A word from President

'Koti Chennaya : Jānapadīya Adhyayana' by Dr. Vamana Nandavara is a rare doctoral thesis. It is the result of an extensive study about the legendary and historical twin heroes of Tulunadu, Koti and Chennaya. The author collected seven versions of Koti Chennaya Paddana for a comparative analysis. Koti Chennaya Paddana or 'Bantere Sandi' narrates the life, achievements and the tragic death of Koti Chennaya. Dr. Nandavara compared the important events in the life of the twin heroes and examined the authenticity of the events. The book highlights the struggle by the twin heroes against the unjust social order of their times. They symbolized the exploited and oppressed working class. Using their valour, enthusiasm and military training, they protested against discrimination and the hierarchical social system. After their heroic and tragic death, the twin heroes are being worshipped as protective human spirits and cultural heroes. There are more than 217 temples- garodis- of Koti Chennaya situated in the length and breadth of Tulunadu.

Dr. Vamana Nandavara collected data and photographed the uniquely configured 'Garodis'. He has also given the account of the journey of Koti Chennaya which includes 52 places in Tulunadu. This account provides a historical perspective to the Koti Chennaya legend. The book helps to widen our thinking about the greatness of the twin heroes, their character, and their dedication to the uplift of the downtrodden. Hence, this is the most extensive resource book on the subject and definitely an outstanding piece of research.

Sri Shankara Narayana Dooja Poojary has done a fruitful work by translating the book which has immense academic value. The honest effort that has gone into translating the magnum opus is undoubtedly astonishing and praiseworthy. The success of the translation work is that it fully conveys the import of the narrative of the original text which has all the qualities of search for truth and investigative approach. The language is so apt to the subject that any reader can easily understand the heroic achievements of Koti Chennaya.

No doubt this translation would become a great help to the international scholars. Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy is pleased to publish this valuable volume. On behalf of the Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy, I thank Dr. Vamana Nandavara and SṆD Poojary.

November 15, 2015

M. Janaki Brahmavar
President, Karnataka Tulu Sahithya Academy

Preface

This is the revised version of my doctoral dissertation 'Koti Chennaya: Folkloristic Study' submitted to Mangalore University in 1994 under the guidance of Prof. B.A.Viveka Rai. I undertook research on this topic from 1988 to 1994, but my fieldwork and study on this subject extends a span of twelve years. I did extensive fieldwork at the places mentioned in the epic of Koti Chennaya, the place of origin, places of wanderings and place of death of Koti Chennaya; I also surveyed the 'Garadis', the worshipping shrines of Koti Chennaya, which are spread all over Tulu region.

I have collected afresh the epic texts of Koti Chennaya from two men, Monte Gowda and Eerappa Gowda. I also have interviewed a number of performers, priests, managers and organisers of the festivals of Koti Chennaya. I have collected and studied all documented texts of Koti Chennaya, starting from the collection of A. Manner and R.C. Burnell till the recent collections, including the adaptations in various modes and languages.The interesting features of using 'Koti Chennaya' in folk theatre, modern theatre and electronic media are discussed.The question of 'cultural identity' has addressed from sociological point of view also. Much empirical data has been recorded, supplemented with charts, pictures and questionnaire.

I am very much grateful to my research guide Prof. B.A.Viveka Rai, Chairman, Departemnt of Kannada, Mangalore University, for suggesting this topic for research, structuring my research design and guiding me in fieldwork, documentation and writing the thesis, with his erudite scholarship and vast experience on folklore research.

My thanks are due to Kannada Department of Mangalore University for giving me the opportunity to undertake my research.

I also thank Prof. H.S.Ramachandre Gowda (Mysore University) and Prof. T.N. Shankaranarayana (Kuvempu University) for evaluating my thesis and recommending for Ph.D. degree, and also to Prof. D.K. Rajendra (Mysore University) and Dr.U.P. Upadhyaya for recommending the thesis for publication.

I remember the generous help rendered by senior scholars Prof. Peter J. Claus, Prof. Amruta Someshwara, Sri K.C. Patali, Sri D.G. Nadka, Sri Sadananda Naravi, Sri Gopadkar, Sri Tejpal and Dr. Satyanarayana Mallipattana while I was writing my thesis, and Prof. Laxminarayana Bhat (Roshani Nilaya, Mangaluru) in the production of the present publication. My sincere thanks to all my informants who made my research work alive with their valuable information and suggestions.

The book is considered as an authoritative work on Koti Chennaya legend. It has received handsome compliments and rare appreciation from scholars and the general public.

I was toying with the idea of bringing out an English version of my thesis. When I met S.N.D. Poojary at a function in Udupi where I was awarded the Bannanje Babu Amin Janapada Vidvamsa Award instituted by Kemmalaje Janapada Prakashana, Udupi. I proposed my desire to bring out the English of version the thesis. Mr. Poojary has gladly agreed and did the translation work excellently.

I thank Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy for publishing the English version of my book. My special thanks to Smt. Janaki Brahmavara, the President; Sri. B. Chandrahasa Rai, the Registrar and other members of the Academy.

My wife Smt. Chandrakala Nandavara has been a source of strength for me in my career as a researcher and writer. The role of my daughter - Hemashree and son-in-law Basha, and my son - Sudhamshu and daughter-in-law Deepthi has been substantial in my achievements. I am greatly indebted to them. I am also thankful to Mr. Kallur Nagesh, Smt. Bharathi and Smt. Gayathri of Aakrithi Prints for printing this volume with elegance.

Mangaluru
November 1, 2015

Vamana Nandavara

Translator's Note

KOTI CHENNAYA (A Folkloristic Study) is the English version of *Koti Chennaya – Jānapadīya Adhyayana* in Kannada by Dr Vamana Nandavara. It was published by Hemamshu Prakashana, Mangalore, in 2001.

The saga of Koti and Chennaya is well-known throughout Tulunadu, and beyond. There are around 230 temples—*garoḍis*—in which Koti and Chennaya receive worship. The annual festival of the *garodis* attracts a large number of devotees. Brahma Baiderle Garodis, as they are known, occupy a prominent place in the Tuluva culture.

Pāḍḍanas constitute the core of the worship tradition of the Tuluvas. Every folk deity worshipped by the Tuluvas has a story to tell: its birth, development, diffusion, and the supernatural feats it performed. The story is told in the form of a song called *pāḍḍana. Pāḍḍanas* are the oral narrative poems generally sung at the time of the annual festival of the folk deity by the professional *bûta* impersonators—Paravas, Pambadas, Nalkes, and Panaras. The *pāḍḍanas* sung by them on the occasion of the possession ritual—*nēma* or *kōla*—are regarded as the authentic texts. *Pāḍḍanas* have survived primarily because of these professional singers.

Foreigners, especially the missionaries attached to Basel Mission, were the first to collect some of the *pāḍḍanas* and commit them to writing. Of course these *pāḍḍanas* were not collected during the actual *nēma* or *kōla* ceremonies; nonetheless the *pāḍḍanas* collected by them became the foundation for future studies of *pāḍḍanas* and the spirit worship of the Tuluvas.

One of the beautiful *pāḍḍanas* is the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana. It is a long oral composition. It narrates the story of the twin cultural heroes of Tulunadu—Koti and Chennaya. Siri Pāḍḍana and Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana are the two folk or oral epics of Tulunadu.

II

The book on Koti Chennaya by Dr Vamana Nandavara is of immense academic value. It has widened the scope of the study on the Koti Chennaya legend. It is a strenuously researched work. The author has taken a lot of pains to collect every available piece of information on the Koti Chennaya legend.

One theme that is highlighted repeatedly in the book is the struggle of Koti and Chennaya against the unjust social order of their times. Their struggle was not just a personal struggle between certain Ballalas and them; it was a class struggle. Koti and Chennaya symbolized the working class, the class that was exploited and oppressed. Koti and Chennaya protested against discrimination and the hierarchical social system. Their protest would have died out and their efforts at confronting the adversaries would have been a flash in the pan had it not been for their training in combat skills and gymnastics. They were trained warriors, and therefore, they dared to fight against the powerful and the mighty. They lived by the sword.

The book under reference employs the psychoanalytical tools to explain, rather criticize certain miracles and supernatural happenings that appear in the Koti Chennaya legend. The author dismisses all the supernatural events mentioned in the Koti Chennaya legend as the outcome of hallucinatory and delusional thinking.

Psychoanalysis founded by Sigmund Freud is of course a revolutionary theory in psychology. Freud was a psychiatrist and his theory originated from his clinical practice in treating people with psychological disorders. But his concepts: Libido, unconscious, id, ego, superego, Oedipus complex *etc*., must be used with caution; many of his concepts are very general and defy proper definition. Many a time you may be carried away by the intuitive appeal of the concepts like libido, unconscious, dream symbolism, prototype *etc*. Quite often you use the above concepts as a sort of escape route to brush under the carpet the complexity of the social and the psychological phenomena.

An important aspect of the research work on Koti Chennaya twins by Dr Nandavara is the analysis it offers about the Koti Chennaya *Pāḍdana*. The author had collected seven versions of the *pāḍdana* for a comparative analysis. He has examined how the seven versions explain certain key events narrated in the Koti Chennaya legend.

The author discusses the criteria used to define an epic and examines whether the Koti Chennaya *pāḍdana* is indeed an epic.

The Koti Chennaya *pāḍdana* is sung on different occasions by different people. The book under reference tells you when the Koti Chennaya *pāḍdana* is sung, who sings it, and how it is sung.

Peter J. Claus (1991) has drawn our attention to the importance of the context while collecting a *pāḍdana*. He writes,

'Knowing the importance of context it is imperative that the collector document the text in context. If for some reason he or she wants more than this, there is no bar collecting in some artificially induced text, but always this should be seen in connection with the performance text.' (Note no. 9 appended to the article, *Tulu Pāḍdanas*: *Text and Performances*)

According to Peter J. Claus, a *pāḍdana* sung in a non-performance context (artificially induced context) is to be compared with the same *pāḍdana* sung in a performance context

(at a *kōla* festival) to ascertain the authenticity of a *pāḍdana*. This decides whether a *pāḍdana* is 'a traditional representation of the text' (*ibid*) or not. This warning must be seen against the background of a tendency on the part of some of the singers of the *pāḍdanas* to make additions to the traditional *pāḍdana* texts. Dr Vamana Nandavara discusses the controversy and takes a different view on the issue.

Three principalities, Parmale, Panja and Enmur were the theatre of conflict involving Koti and Chennaya. The most remarkable feature of the book by Dr Vamana Nandavara is that he retraces the steps traversed by Koti and Chennaya during their short span of life. The journey of life of Koti and Chennaya began in Parmale, where they were born, and ended in Enmur where they died a tragic death. Dr Vamana Nandavara has identified 52 places associated with the Koti Chennaya legend; and given a brief description of each place and documented the legend of the place. This is really a painstaking work. His account of the journey of Koti and Chennaya provides a historical perspective to the Koti Chennaya legend.

Apart from Koti and Chennaya, many other twin deities are worshipped in Tulunadu. The author discusses these twin divinities in a detailed manner. Thus, you get a comparative view of the worship of heroes and heroines of Tulu folklore, or the hero-worship tradition of the Tuluvas.

One point needs to be noted that there are different types of multiple births: If there are two children born together, they are called twins; if there are three, triplets; and so on. Twins are of two types: identical and fraternal. Identical twins look alike; one is the mirror of the other; and both are of the same sex. Fraternal twins are different; they are born together but one is not the mirror of the other; they do not look alike and the sex of the children can be the same or different.

Koti and Chennaya and Kantabare and Budabare are identical twins; whereas Enmuru Deyya and Tannimaniga, Kalkuda and Kallurti are fraternal twins.

The possession ritual performed by the Parava cult dancers on the occasion of the annual festival of Koti and Chennaya is an aesthetically appealing and visually captivating spectacle, embellished with colour, music, singing, and dancing. Enacting the episode of stabbing themselves in the course of the possession ritual by the Billava priest impersonators of Koti and Chennaya is an awe-inspiring, but frightening event.

Dr Vamana Nandavara has documented in minute detail the possession ritual of Koti and Chennaya.

Deyi Baidedi is, in a way, the central character in the Koti Chennaya legend. The Koti Chennaya *pāḍdana* explains her birth in a supernatural way. She is said to have taken birth from an egg of the Kenjava birds. A childless Brahmin gets the egg that has fallen into the sea, and according to the legend, Deyi Baidedi is born out of this egg. There could no story of Koti Chennaya without Deyi Baidedi.

The Koti Chennaya epic is not a book of science; it is a folk song; and it was composed

by some nameless unlettered folk poet or folk singer. A poet is not concerned with the reality *per se*; in the Koti Chennaya epic, the poet is narrating the life of the twin heroes in a way that is pleasing to the ears. The poet mixes reality with imagination. A song is meant to be enjoyed for its own sake.

Deyi Baidedi is born from an egg of the Kenjava birds. It is quite evident that a human being cannot be born from an egg of a bird. But the folk poet says so and this is how the folk poet accounts for the birth of Deyi Baidedi.

III

Translating Dr Vamana Nandavara's book has been a learning process for me. As a result, I have come to know many things about Koti and Chennaya which were previously unknown to me. It has been a difficult book to translate because of the abstruse nature of the text.

I have used the diacritic signs sparingly. I have used the diacritic signs when a non-English word is used for the first time and then the word is used without the diacritic symbols.

I thank Dr Vamana Nandavara for all the help he has extended to me in the course of translating the book. He has been kind enough to grant me the necessary permission to bring out an English version of his book.

I take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude to Prof. B.A. Vivek Rai who went through the first draft of the translation and offered valuable comments. I was very happy when Prof. B.A. Vivek Rai agreed to write a Foreword to the book. I feel honoured by his gracious gesture.

I am indeed grateful to the Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy, Mangaluru, for publishing the present book. My special thanks to Smt. Janaki Brahmavara, President of the Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy for her help and encouragement. I extend my gratitude to the Registrar - Chandrahasa Rai, and all the members of the Tulu Sahitya Academy.

Dr N. Thirumaleshwara Bhat, popularly called NT Bhat, a retired professor of English, MGM College, Udupi, has corrected some of my habitual offences against the English language. I am deeply indebted to him. I thank Dr. Laxminarayana Bhat as well. He went through the draft of the book and made valuable suggestions.

It was Bannanje Babu Amin who initiated me to the study of Tulu folklore. I learnt the diacritic signs from Professor Peter J. Claus and he also instilled confidence in me. S. A. Krishnaiah is very knowledgeable regarding the fine nuances of the folklore of the coastal Karnataka. Venkatesh, librarian of the Regional Resources Centre (R.R.C.), M.G.M. College, is always ready to help me with books and reading materials. My brother, Nagaraj knows almost everything about *buta* worship. I thank them all.

Miramar – Goa
November 15, 2015

S.N.D. Poojary

KEY TO TRANSLITERATION

Roman symbols	nearest English equivalent wherever available
a	u of cut
aa ā	a of calm
i	i of bit
ii ī	ee of keep
u	u of put
uu ū	oo of shoot
e	e of bet
ee ē	a of mate
o	o of obedient
oo ō	oa of coat
ai	i of like
au / ou	ov of love
ñ	n of bench
ṭ	t of heat
ḍ	d of dark
ṇ	n with the tip of the tongue curled back
t	th of birth
d	th of though
n	n of tenth
l	l of light
ḷ	with the tip of the tongue curled back

Courtesy :

U. P. Upadhyaya and (Smt) Susheela P. Upadhyaya. *Folk Rituals* (of the Tuluva region of Coastal Karnataka, 2002

CONTENTS

Foreword / v

A word from President / vii

Author's note / viii

Translator's note / x

Key to transliteration / xiv

Chapter 1: Introduction / 1

Chapter 2: The Koti Chennaya Legend / 19

Chapter 3: Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana: As an Oral Epic / 39

Chapter 4: Historical and Geographical Aspects of the Koti Chennaya Legend / 61

Chapter 5: Garodis / 112

Chapter 6: Bermer and other Folk Deities / 139

Chapter 7: Possession Ritual / 180

Chapter 8: Worship of Twins: A Comparative Analysis / 211

Chapter 9: Fairs and Festivals / 222

Chapter 10: Summary / 233

Appendix / 237

Glossary / 267

Bibliography / 270

Index / 277

CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION

Folkloristic study is a highly relevant branch of social science which has been gaining attention of scholars all over the world. There is a need to bring out the differences between a cultural study and a folkloristic study. Quite often these differences are overlooked. The term 'folk' acquires a technical connotation, 'folklore'[1]. The term 'folk' refers to common people who have preserved their age-old traditions, and is used as a substitute for the term 'popular antiquities' of the past. Folklore is a branch of science that studies the sum total of the oral traditions of a group of people. However, this is different from folk literature in the sense that folk literature is just one part of folklore. Folklore includes folk dance, folk medicine, folk dress, folk cuisines, folk songs, and folk games. Folkloristic is an adjective form of folklore.

There are many studies where 'culture' and 'folklore' are used as equivalent terms. But culture is a much broader concept than folklore. Folklore is just one aspect of culture. One can regard folklore as a part of popular culture. Folk culture is different from urban culture. The group that lives in the environment of folk culture has less educational facilities and lower economic conditions than a group that lives in the urban culture. Urban culture is very complex. In such a culture, a group or an ancient community may occupy socially a lower position. This group carries the traditional or original culture. The original culture of such a community is known as folklore. Therefore, cultural studies and folkloristic studies have different approaches, and different focuses.

Review of literature on Koti Chennaya

The purpose of reviewing the literature on the Koti and Chennaya legend is to find out what has already been done by various scholars on the Koti and Chennaya legend and examine the possibility of undertaking another study. The works on the twin heroes can be broadly classified as: collected and transcribed oral compositions, written literature, audio-video recordings, and review and evaluation of works on the twin heroes.

Collection and documentation of oral traditions

Pāḍdana

Christian Missionaries of the Basel Mission were the first to collect the Koti and Chennaya Pāḍdana. In the collection *Pāḍdanoḷu*, Manner A. (1886: 33 - 52) has included 21 *Pāḍdanas* (folk songs / narrative poems), in which 16th *Pāḍdana* is Dēyi Baidedi, the 17th is Kōṭi Chenṇaye - 1, and the 18th is Kōṭi Chenṇaye - 2. Although these are three different chapters, they are the parts of the same folk epic. The *Pāḍdanas* found in the manuscripts of A.C. Burnell (1894 – 97) had been collected by Mögling and others even before 1882. R. C. Temple[2] published 26 of them in *The Indian Antiquary* (1894 – 97), under the title, *The Devil Worship of the Tuluvas.* The title was as recorded by A.C. Burnell himself in his manuscripts. In this book there are three versions of the Koti Chennaya epic: *The Song of Deyi Baidedi* (Burnell's MSS – III), *The Song of Koti and Channaya* (Burnell's MSS – IV. Part I), and *Story of Koti and Channaya* (Burnell's MSS – IV. Part II). All the three pieces were from the collection of Mögling, in the Kanarese character, and they were translated into English by Burnell. One should remember that the same texts appear in Manner 's *Pāḍdanoḷu.*

Further, Burnell's book contains two more versions of the Koti Chennaya story: 1. *The Story of Koti and Channayya*, (Burnell's MSS No. 15); and 2. Manner's Variants No. 1, *The Origin of the Beiderlu.* (See Burnell: 1894: 22 – 24, 85 – 90; 1895: 114 – 121, 141 – 153, 211 – 215, 242 – 244, 267 – 272, and 1896: 295 – 310, 328, 342)

Arnold Balke[3] (1938) produced the first audio cassette of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. Many scholars came here (Tulunadu) for doing research and collected the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, for example, Peter J. Claus of California University, USA and Lauri Honko of Finland.

At the time of compiling Tulu Lexicon, the study team of the Rashtra Kavi Govind Pai Samshodhana Kendra, Udupi, collected many texts of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana: *Baidarkaḷa Pāḍdana* (cassette No. 31, 31 A); *Bermere Pāḍdana* (Ca. 57 A); *Kēnjava Pakki Pāḍdana* (Ca. No. 128), and *Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana* (Ca. 130). These are preserved in the archives of the Regional Resource Centre for Folk Performing Arts (R.R.C.). (See R.R.C. 1986: Ca. No. 369; 1989: Ca. Nos. 1 – 16; 1991: 1997 – 1210, 18618 – 1625, 2119 – 2129 – 1 – 43)

The Brahma Baiderkala Samskritika Pratishtana, Adiudupi has collected different versions of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. The study team that conducted field work for the Konkani Lexicon Project[4] has documented the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. The project team led by Lauri Honko of the Turku University of Finland under the Oral Epic Project compiled the entire Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. I have compiled different versions of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana for my PhD dissertation. Among them, some were collected on the occasion of the actual *kōla* festival of Koti and Chennaya. My own recording of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana runs over 24 hours.

Story

There is a story on Koti and Chennaya among the folk tales collected by R.R.C. (See R. R. C. 1990: Tale 61, Ca. No. 13)

Proverbs and riddles

1. *Birvered irver*[5] (lit. Birver are two).

2. *Birver irver kōpitnḍa kerver*[6] (lit. Biruver may be two; if they get angry, they would kill).

Both the proverbs symbolize the two powerful persons of the Billava community—Koti and Chennaya. The term *irver* refers to identical twins, Koti and Chennaya. The second proverb also refers to them. Koti Chennaya were known for their hot-tempered behaviour and the proverb is indicative of this aspect of their personality.

'Proverbs are the traditional sayings that inform you how to look at a situation in totality, how to view the past events, and how to control the tempo of the future actions'[7] (The New Book of Knowledge).

Apart from these, there are other attributes of proverbs: Proverbs are short, sharp, and popular sayings clothed in some theory or theories; they are balanced, rhythmic, and aesthetic expressions. All these attributes can be observed in the two proverbs mentioned above. The distinctive characteristic of the first proverb is that in just two words, it brings out the traits of two heroes who represent their community.

Sometimes there is very little difference between a proverb and a riddle. In such instances, a proverb can be a riddle. In the first proverb mentioned above, 'there are always two persons among the Biruvas, who are they?' becomes a riddle. The obvious answer of course is Koti Chennaya.

Written literature on Koti and Chennaya

Stories

The era of written literature on Koti and Chennaya was started by Panje Mangesh Rao. His book, *Koti Chennaya*, meant for children is the most important book in the genre of written literature on Koti and Chennaya. The theatre of activities of Koti and Chennaya is Padumale of Panja. Mangesh Rao collected different versions of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana from the Bhuta[8] impersonators of Padumale. He consulted the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana compiled by Mögling. Then he used these sources to write his book. He did make some changes in the story. He writes in the Preface to the book that he took almost twenty years to give shape to the book. Further he writes in the Preface:

'I have left out from the story of (Koti and Chennaya) one or two unpleasant episodes, some repetitions, and the untamed aggression of the protagonists of the story. I have also added two new episodes—one, on the Brahmin astrologer, and the other, on their cremation in Padumale manor.' (Panje: 1973 / 1930: 133)[10]

There are three chapters in the book by Panje Mangesh Rao: In Padumale, In Panja, and In *Eṇmūru.*

In *Prachina Tulunadu* (Ancient Tulunadu) by Sheenappa Heggade and N.S. Kille (1954), in the section on *Pāḍḍanagaḷa Tuḷunāḍu* (The Tulunadu of Pāḍḍanas), there are eight stories, and the story, *Banṭara Sandhiyalli Dēyi Baidedi* is one of them. It describes the events in brief that occurred before Koti and Chennaya were born and the story continues till the end of Koti and Chennaya. The same story is reprinted in *Polali Sheenappa Heggade Samagra Sahitya* (1991: 149 – 160).

In *Janapada Kathegalu* by Venkatarayacharya (1956), there are four stories: Parapali Nayaka, Agoli Manjanna, Koti and Chennaya, and Kadekanji. The story of Koti and Chennaya highlights the good qualities of Koti and Chennaya—their miraculous powers. The story is written with a view to influence the younger generation.

N.S. Prabhu (1958: 138 – 147), in his book, *Koti-Chennaya: A Folk Story*, provides a brief story of Koti Chennaya. As editor of the book, K. S. Haridas Bhat offers the following comments about the story: 'This is a poignant story of two Tuluva heroes, Koti and Chennaya—a story of heroism, romance, swash, killing—and sung in the form of a ballad during certain religious festivals of the Tuluva peasants of South Kanara.' (*ibid*: 147)

Padmanabha Somayaji (1970) wrote a story on Koti and Chennaya meant for school children. The story was prescribed as an additional reading material for the students of fifth Standard. In the story, the author describes Koti and Chennaya as great heroes who sacrificed their lives to uphold truth and they helped those who trusted them.

The book, *Koti Chennaya* by Rasika Puttige (1971) is based on *Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana*. It is also meant for children.

Kakemani (1974) has written a story book for children on *Koti Chennaya*. In the beginning of the story, the two warrior brothers are described as those who did not succumb to the brute force and the highhandedness of the powerful, and those who fought to maintain their self-respect and uphold justice. (p. 4) They opposed the rule by the arrogant and taught a lesson to those who indulged in wrongdoings by abusing their position. (p. 48) In the end of the story, there are details of the construction of tombs and memorials for Koti Chennaya, and installing their idols in the shrines built in their honour.

Venkataraja Puninchattaya (1977: 119 – 121) wrote an article, *Vīraru Tuḷida Nele* (The Land Trodden by the Heroes) that tells us how the exploits of Koti and Chennaya became the most famous heroic verse in the *Pāḍḍana* literature. Further, the article also tells us about the Eṇmūr battle; how the twin heroes grew up under the care of Padumale Ballal; how they sought the help of Eṇmūr Ballāḷa to fight against injustice; and how these kind hearted twin heroes with supernatural powers came to be worshipped in the *garodis* i.e. shrines built for their worship.

In a small pictorial story book, *Bhutas and Teyyams*, Valentina Stache – Rosen (1978: 30 – 1) has given a brief story of Koti and Chennaya.

There is a one-page story on Koti and Chennaya titled, *The Epic of Koti and Chennaya* in *Indian Folklore* edited by Patta Nayak and Peter J. Claus (1982: 11 – 12).

Bannanje Babu Amin, in his *Koti Chennaya* (1982)[11] provides an exhaustive story in prose of Koti Chennaya. He has stated that he has written the book after visiting around 30 to 35 Koti-Chennaya *garodis*. In an ornamental language, the book describes the manor house of Perumala Ballāḷa of Padumale, his throne, his administration, and the miraculous powers of Koti Chennaya. The end of the book provides details of the funeral rites performed on the mortal remains of Koti and Chennaya; setting up of their temples (*garoḍis*) in different parts of Tulunadu; and certain legends associated with Okku Ballāḷa, Kujumba Kanja, Jōgi Purusha, Mayandal, and the Muslim children. Compared to other works on Koti and Chennaya, the book by Babu Amin is different in scope.

B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 a: 54 – 58), in his research study, has given a short translation of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana. Then he has analysed the life of struggle of Koti Chennaya as depicted in the *Pāḍḍana*; examined the mind-set of the elite of the society of that time characterized by enmity, jealousy, and competition; and the consequences of the conflict of values between good and evil. At the end of his study, Prof. Rai has focused on the reasons for the final tragedy as revealed in the story; the factors responsible for the universal appeal and popularity of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana *viz.*, the caste hierarchy and the caste conflicts that produced voices of dissent (pp. 58 – 61). He provides an account of the available literature on Koti and Chennaya.

In a small book, *Tulu Ithihasada Smaraka Enmūru Ādi Baidarkala Garodi* (The Monument of the Tuluva History: the Original Garodi of Enmūru of Koti and Chennaya), Mohan Kotian and B. N. Harish Boloor (1987: 1– 2) have given a brief story of Koti and Chennaya.

Kishnappa Malpe (1990) has written a short story on Koti and Chennaya. He writes that the Tulu *Pāḍḍanas* on Koti and Chennaya which are sung as *Banṭere Sandi* are in circulation as folk songs. He has claimed that the Panja-Eṇmūr battle took place in 1695, though he has not provided any proof in support of his claim.

Balakrishna Shetty A. Polali (1991: 5) has written a story *Koti Chennaya* for the series - *Folktales of Tulunadu* published in the different issues of the English monthly, *Suguna Digest*.

K.C. Patali (1989: 26 – 42) has written a book *Shri Padumale Kshetra Darshana* (A Visit to the Holy Place of Padumale). The book is the result of a field study undertaken by the author. In the course of his field study he has collected the *Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana* from the Paravas and the Poojaris of the area and then he has written the story. Patali writes:

'Koti and Chennaya, who broke and threw away the traditional customs and traditions and who sounded the bugle of social revolution, were divine souls.'

It seems that since Patali is from the place of birth of Koti and Chennaya, he has written the book with a lot of inspiration.

The book *Koti Chennaya*[12] commissioned by Laxminarayana Rai of Kattabidu provides an overview of the oral literature and the worship traditions of Tulunadu. It also describes the incidents involving the twin heroes and provides a mythological background to the stories of Koti and Chennaya.

Yajnavathi Keshava Kangan (1994: 66 – 8), in *Pāḍdanadalli Koti Chennaya* (Koti and Chennaya in Folk Songs) has given an outline of the story of Koti and Chennaya.

Anantharamu K. (1997: 764 – 7) in his *Dakshinada Sirinadu* (The Beautiful Land of the South) has given a brief story of Koti and Chennaya. Vamana Nandavara (1998) has written a brief story of Koti and Chennaya in Tulu for children. Shiva Billava (1998) has written the story of the twin heroes in his *Legendary twins—Koti Chennaya*.

Novels

Vīra Sahōdararu Koti Chennaya (The Warrior Brothers—Koti and Chennaya) is a novel on Koti Chennaya by K. K. Poojary. (1961)[13] He has described his work as a 'historical novel of the Tuluva land'. He has used the storyline from the *Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana* compiled by Mögling. He has worked on the storyline in a creative manner. In the Preface to the novel he clarifies:

'The journey of Koti and Chennaya through Tululand, and the Bhatkal episode described in the later part of my book, are my own creation.'

Ganesh Amin Sankamar's (1997) *Amar Bīrer Koti Chennayer* (The Twin Heroes—Koti and Chennaya) is a story dealing with Koti and Chennaya in Tulu written in the style of a novel.

Verses

Koti Chennaya Padya Mālike (A Collection of Poems on Koti Chennaya) is a collection of poems by Mangaluru Jarappa (1930) on Koti Chennaya. It is the first published book of poems on the twin heroes. The poems are composed in the *Bhāmini* meter. The poems narrate the story of Koti and Chennaya till their imprisonment in Panja. It is clear from a note included in the book that the poet was influenced by various articles that appeared in the newspapers on the life of Koti and Chennaya and also by the work of Panje. (p. iii) The story he used as the material to compose his poems of Koti Chennaya is given in brief in the beginning of the book. (pp. vii – xii)

Tulunadua Kaligaḷu Koti Chennaya (Koti and Chennaya—the Heroes of Tulunadu) is a book of verse on Koti Chennaya by Kaintaje Narasimha Bhat (1975). It is also in the *Bhāmini* meter. In the beginning of the book, the poet gives a short outline of the story in prose based on the story of Koti and Chennaya by Panje. He uses this story as the material for his poetry. In his 'Foreword' he writes that he was requested to compose the poem and recite it at a function at the Kankanadi Baiderkala Garodi of Mangalore. But the recitation of the poem could not take place though he had been given the permission to do so. Amritha

Someshwar, in the Preface to the book writes: 'The poet has made an attempt to paint in a beautiful language the culture of Tulunadu. The book is suitable to be used as a source book for mythological discourse and also as a text book.'

Dumappa Master's (1975) poem, *Tulunadua Vīrer Koti Chennayere Tulu Pada* (A Poem in Tulu on Koti and Chennaya—the Heroes of Tulunadu) is composed in the *Dvipadi* meter. The poem is beautifully composed, interlaced with graphic descriptions. In the 'Foreword' the poet says:

'I have undertaken this work with the objective of showing the elegance of the Tulu language, the beauty of its idioms, and the background of the story, and of helping in the preservation of the faith and belief in the supernatural heroes.'

Ullala Mangesharaya (1939: 76 – 80) has written a short verse for children on *Koti Chennaya* in the *Bhamini* meter.

Sithanadi Ganapayya Shetty has produced a collection of verses titled *Koti Chennaya*.

Plays

Vishukumar (1967) has written a historical play, *Koti Chennaya* based on the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. The play does not deviate much from the main storyline of the life of Koti and Chennaya. It is a three-hour play. In the 'Introduction' to the play, he says:

'To popularize the story of the twin heroes of Tulunadu in the entire Karnataka, enacting their life on the stage is the most effective medium. Since the beauty of the Tulu language would not be experienced in Kannada, the play must be presented in Tulu. I have a desire to translate the play into Kannada at a later date.'

Sitanadi Ganapayya Shetty's (1978) *Koti Chennaya* is the second Tulu play on Koti Chennaya. The writer admits that he has written the play based on the story by Panje.

B. Rama Kirodiyan, K.B. Bhandari and others have written plays on Koti and Chennaya and also acted in the plays. However, these plays have not seen the light of the day.

Amritha Someshwar's (1987), *Koti Chennaya* is the first Kannada play on Koti Chennaya. It is a play meant for children; it is based on *Banṭara Saṇdi* (folk song on Koti and Chennaya), and the story by Panje.

The play, *Koti Chennaya* by Shivarama Shishila (1987) is another Kannada play meant for children. The writer admits that he has used the story of Koti and Chennaya by Rasika Puttige as the source material for writing his play. Apart from these two plays, perhaps no other plays in Kannada on Koti and Chennaya have been published.

Birdda Banṭer Koti Chennaya[14] (The Proud Warriors—Koti and Chennaya) is a play in Tulu by Shivaprasad and N. Koyira. It was staged many times. These two friends submit that they have written the play on the basis of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana collected by them.

Yakshagana

A *Yakshagana* text, *Baiderkala Pratāpa* composed by Venkataraya (1938) initiated a new trend in the field of *Yakshagana*. Till the appearance of Venkataraya's text, the popular folk theatre of *Yakshagana* staged performances based on mythological themes. His work set an example how the traditional texts of *Yakshagana* can be improved and how the life history of local heroes and local legends can be experimented as themes to stage shows in performing arts. He wrote the text by selecting certain parts from the *Bantara Sandi* (collected by him), and the passages imbued with poetic sentiments from *Koti Chennaya* of Panje Mangesh Rao. In the Introduction to the text Venkataraya states that some of the shows of the *Baiderkala Pratāpa* were staged in *garoḍis*. Later, *Yakshagana* performances with the same text but with the name, *Koti Chennaya* became very famous.

Yakshagana Kala Kshetra, Udupi has published a *Yakshagana* text, *Vīra Koti Chennaya* (The Valorous Koti and Chennaya) written by Bannanje Babu Amin (1967). The text also provides the meaning of the text. He conducted a field work to collect the material to prepare the script. The material so collected became a source of inspiration for him to write his next book, *Koti Chennaya*, says the writer (Babu Amin: 1982: ii) The *Yakshagana* text by Babu Amin incorporates selected verses from Venkataraya's text; and in some places, he has added new verses (pp. 2, 4, 189).

In a different context, Babu Amin writes that the field work that he conducted to write the *Yakshagana* text motivated him to produce a comprehensive work on the shrines of Koti Chennaya. (Bannanje Babu Amin: 1990: xiii) Yakshagana Kala Kshetra was founded to train artistes in *Yakshagana* and it staged many *Yakshagana* shows on *Brahma Baider* (Koti Chennaya).

Pattada Perumale (Perumale of the Throne) published by Anantharamu Bangadi (1988) is the first *Yakshagana* text in Tulu. It deals with the mythology of the Koti Chennaya legend prior to the birth of Koti Chennaya.

Taranatha Ballaya[15] has composed a Tulu *Yakshagana* text *Brahma Baider*. The theme of the text is the attainment of divinity by Koti and Chennaya after their death.

Review and evaluation of the works on Koti Chennaya

According to Manner, folk deities like Panjurli are created by God; whereas folk deities, Baiderlu and many others are the extrordinary persons who were deified as folk deities. He suggests that a stone of any shape, or a wooden plank may represent a folk deity. The folk deity Maisandaya may be represented in the form of a bullock; Jarandaya, in the form of a horse; Panjurli, in the form of a boar; and Baiderlu, in the human form. The spirits of the two warriors, Koti Baidya and Chennaya Baidya, who belonged to the Billava community, are called Baiderlu after they attain divinity. Kujumba Kanja, a warrior, joins the ranks of Koti Chennaya after his death and he receives worship along with Koti and Chennaya as

Baiderlu. A temple or a shrine of Baiderlu is a *garoḍi*.

There is a folk deity called by various names: Berme, Brahmara, and Brahma Rakshasha. He resides in the thick forest, amidst trees. His shrine is a Bermasthana. Brahmin priests officiate as priests in the worship of the Bermer deity and generally Billava priests officiate as priests in the worship of other folk deities. No *kōla* or *nēma,* ceremony is performed for the Berma deity. However, on the new moon days or on the occasion of any festival, a Brahmin priest performs the worship of Bermer at the shrine of Bermer. On these occasions, people offer flowers, coconuts, and fruits to the deity. Thus, Manner has distinguished Berma folk deity from other folk deities (Burnell: 1894: 5 – 6) There is a need to discuss the conceptualization of Brahma Rakshasha, Berma, and Kujumba Kanja.

Agelu tambila is a form of annual offering made to Baiderlu by the Billavas. Manner has given a lot of details regarding the *agelu tambila* offering. The ceremonies like *kola*, *banḍi*, and *nēma* are performed for all the folk deities, including Baiderlu. A careful study of Manner reveals that the ritual *agelu tambila* is limited only to Baiderlu. (*ibid*: 7)

There are sketches of some folk deities in the book by Burnell. Among them, there are two sketches of Koti and Chennaya (Burnell: 1894: printed opposite of page 37). The sketches of Koti and Chennaya are distorted when we view them along with the sketches of Jumādi and Panjurli (Burnell: 1894, printed opposite of page 18); sketches of Attavara Daiyongulu and Foolish Jumādi (Burnell: 1896); and the sketches Todakinar and Mudader (Kāla Bhairava) (Burnell: 1894). These distorted sketches may be the result of a misconception by the western commentators of equating Koti and Chennaya with demons / devils. Did Burnell not witness the *kōla* festival of Baiderlu? Were the headgears of Baiderlu of the type shown in the sketches used during those days? Such questions naturally arise.

Sanjeeva Prabhu (1971: 73 – 74), K.M. Rajagopal (1989), and Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian (1990: picture 53, b) have slightly modified the sketches given by Burnell and incorporated modified pictures in their books.

B.A. Saletore (1936), on the basis of the folk songs, Devu Punja Paddana, Koti Chennaya Paddana, Panjurli Paddana, and Bobbarya Paddana, compiled by Mögling, Burnell and Manner, describes different aspects of the life of the people of Tulunadu— their dress, occupations, trade, and seasons. He provides a profile of the Billava community of the time of Koti and Chennaya: Extracting toddy from palm trees belonging to the Ballalas, how the Billavas took to agriculture, how they were trained in combat skills, and how the ruling elite augmented their income using Billavas and other working classes. He gives a lot of information on the pastime activities of the people of that era: cockfighting competition; buffalo-race; ball game; playing with cashew nuts, coconuts and wild *(palle)* seeds; and the game of *yetpicchi*. He informs us how the working classes like Billavas, Bakudas, Mugeras, and Koragas were trained to protect people and also fight in battles as soldiers (pp. 459 – 583).

S.R. Furtado (1950),[16] in his thesis (submitted 'as a part of the requirements for the

Degree of Bachelor of Divinity'), *Bhutha* (*Demon*) *Worship in South India and its Effect on the Life and Religion of the People* has translated the folk song, Dēyi Baidedi Sandhi as *Song of Deyi Baidedi.* He has given a lot of information on: *garoḍis* and the worship of *Baiderlu* in the *garoḍis*; the female folk deity, Māyandāḷ; shrines of Bermer; food offering (*agel*) ritual and serving cooked food at the *agel* ceremony; the reasons for the *agel* offering; different forms of *agel*; places where *agel* offering is made; the time when the offering is made; and the people who attend the *agel* offering.

In a commemoration volume in honour of Panje, *Shri Panjeya Nenapinalli* (In the Memory of Panje), in the section on children's literature, B. Shankar Bhat and B.M. Sharma (1952: 222), have provided a detailed review of the book *Koti Chennaya* of Panje. In the modern Kannada literature, perhaps, there is no other literary work for children other than the book of Panje—so detailed and authoritative. Hence, Bhat and Sharma write:

'The story of Koti and Chennaya is the story of the heroism of two courageous warriors of the era of feudal lords like the Bangas and the Chowtas. The hunting episode which figures prominently in the Koti Chennaya story portrays Tuluva culture. The employment of typical Tuluva expressions by Panje Mangesh Rao in the story and the way he has experimented with the words is a treasure of the Tuluva culture.'

In his *Pāḍḍanagaḷu Ondu Adhyayana* (A Study of *Pāḍḍanas*), Kanaradi Vadiraja Bhat (1974) has examined the nature of the society when the *Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana* was composed, different aspects of the life of the people of that time, the theme of the *Pāḍḍana*, and the art and craft of the *Pāḍḍana*. There is a discussion on heroism, belief of the people of that time, hunting, and buffalo race.

Gururaja Bhat, P. (1975: 227), while describing the Billavas in his research work, writes:

'Amongst the principal daivas of Tulnadu, Koti-Chennaya have had a most marked recognition. The story of these heroes may be taken roughly to five hundred years back since reference to Ballalas is made in the paddana.'

Amritha Someshwar (1978: 17), commenting on Panje's book, writes:

'When you read *Koti Chennaya* of Panje, your mind goes on a journey to the border regions of Tulunadu. It enters the manor houses of Ballāḷas, the huts of toddy tappers, *kambula* fields (where buffalo race is organized), and the platforms where passers-by are provided drinking water. It wanders into the forests full of wild boars (*kāḍ panji*), peacocks and snakes; battle fields; temples of Gods and shrines of folk deities; and then it goes further. Every detail of the story dances before your eyes as a picture, and the whiff of fragrance of Tulunadu enters your nostrils.'

Amritha Someshwar echoes the sentiment of Kirtinatha Kurtakoti that the narrative style of Panje reminds you of the narrative style of *Vaḍḍāradhana* (name of the book of an ancient Kannada literature) stories. (p. 17)

In a different context (1990: iii), he writes:

'You can say that the centres that used to impart military training became places of

worship and memorials for the great heroes, Koti and Chennaya, only after their death...The fact that the *garōḍis* were the centres of military training once, is evident from the dance performance of the Bhuta performers at the time of the *garōḍi* festivals.'

Valentina Stache-Rosen (1978) collected many texts and photographs of spirit worship and Teyyam (similar worship found in Kerala). She has discussed the background of hero-worship; the relationship between *yakshas* and *yakshinis* (semi-divine celestial beings) and fertility; and the Berma deity of Tulunadu. (p. 7) She has described the *kōla* festival of Didimbiri Garodi of Karkala. (p. 30) She has noted the subtle differences in the dance steps of Teyyam performers, and the impersonators of Koti, Chennaya and Kujumba Kanja. (p. 32)

Leela Bhat (1981: 5, 48, 93) has written her experiences when she visited Paddam *Bīḍu* Garodi, *Eṇmūru*. Garoḍi, the tombs of Koti and Chennaya, and shrine of Bermer.

A.V. Navada (1982: 71 – 79) explains how Koti and Chennaya became worthy of worship as cultural heroes and how the heroes are depicted in the *Pāḍḍanas*.

Amritha Someshwar (1984: 3) makes an analysis of the hero-worship tradition, revolt by Koti and Chennaya against the oppressive culture of dominance, shrines of Koti and Chennaya, shrines of Bermer, food-offering ritual, toddy tapping, and so on.

B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 a: 58), in his research dissertation, describes how the two young heroes fought against the oppression by the persons of high castes and how their fight became the cause of their tragic death. He examines the nature of the caste and the occupational system of ancient Tulunadu, beliefs and celebrations of the people, mystical practices, the battle strategies, agricultural methods, and pastime sporting events. He comments on the twin cultural heroes and the bond between the elder brother and his younger brother. He also analyses how the Billavas worship Koti and Chennaya as deified persons and as cultural heroes, and how they have socially, religiously and emotionally preserved their rituals and ceremonies in the *garoḍis*. He suggests that Koti Chennaya can be studied from different perspectives. In an article, *The Genres of Tulu Folk Poetry*: *An Introduction*, he throws light on the form of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana and how it is sung on different occasions. He argues that in terms of structure, the Koti Chennaya Paddana appears to be a folk tale or a mythological story than just a legend. (Rai: 1993: 270 – 276)

Chinnappa Gowda (1985: 25, 35) has identified five types of folk festivals: festivals of Bhutas, Māri festival, Siri festival, festival of Koti and Chennaya, and worship of serpent deity. Commenting on the festival of Koti Chennaya, he writes:

'On the whole, it is not a practice to call Baider, ferocious spirits. The members of the Billava community organize the Koti Chennaya festival in the memory of the historical heroes of their community. On the occaṣion of the festival, they set up symbolic tombs of Koti and Chennaya and offer worship to the tombs.'

In his (1990) research dissertation, *Bhūtārādhane —Jānapadīya Adhyayana* (Spirit Worship—A Folkloristic Study), he refers to the struggle of Koti and Chennaya against

the elite of their times; how they protect their self-respect; how they punish those who indulge in unlawful activities; and how they acquire the epithet, courageous heroes. (p. 183) He also provides details of the facial painting by the impersonators of Koti and Chennaya at a *kōla* festival; and the dramatics of their dance performance. There is a description on the costumes worn by the impersonator of Māyakada Māni Bāle. (p. 140) He has given the names of 64 *garoḍis* (p. 107) and a diagram showing the diffusion of the *garoḍis*. (p.115)

There was a seminar on the nature of folk epics at the Regional Resources Centre for Performing Arts, Udupi on 12 - 10 – 1985. Experts in the field presented papers on various aspects of folk epics: U. P. Upadhyaya on *Structure of Tulu Paddanas* (pp. 1 – 8), B.A. Vivek Rai, on *Paddanas as Folk Epics* (pp. 9 – 13), B. Damodara Rao, on *Folk – Poem as Epic* (pp. 14 – 23) and Leela Bhat B., on *Women in Paddanas* (pp. 24 – 34). All the participants at the seminar cited Koti Chennaya Paddana as an example of a folk epic. The seminar papers edited by U. P. Upadhyaya were published in the form of a book, *Folk Epics of Tulunadu* (1986).

Peter J. Claus (1978 b: 1 - 23), in his article, *Oral Traditions, Royal Cults and Materials for Reconsideration of the Caste in South India* has examined the role of '*Bermeru in the Legend of Kōṭi – Cennaya*'. In another article (1978 a), he has dealt with the conceptualization of heroes and heroines in the Tulu culture. In a lecture series, *Future Research in Tulu Culture*, he has (1987: 22 – 3) commented on the nature of *Pāḍḍanas*, their structural framework and their stories. He has provided a summary of the *Pāḍḍana* stories and discussed the occasions when *Pāḍḍanas* are sung.

Mohan Kotian and B.N. Harish Boloor (1987) have prepared a list of 64 *garoḍis* of Udupi Taluk and given the addresses of these *garoḍis*. (pp. 8 – 10). Although the book is not exhaustive, it can be used as a source book by future researchers.

Mohan Kotian (1992) says that the Koti Chennaya Paddana has become the source material to write stories, compose songs, bring out *yakshagana* texts, and produce motion pictures and audio tapes on Koti Chennaya. He has brought into focus that the Koti Chennaya Paddana possesses all the features of a folk epic; he argues further that while studying the Koti Chennaya Paddana, the epic features of the *paddana* need to be highlighted. He has brought out the message contained in the Koti Chennaya story, and provided details of the historical remains of Koti and Chennaya found in Enmur, Padumale and the surrounding areas to prove the historicity of the Koti Chennaya legend. He has pointed out certain differences in the storyline between the Koti Chennaya Paddana and the popular literature of Koti and Chennaya. He has raised the question why these differences arose. (pp. v - viii)

Vamana Nandavara (1987 a) has written on the 'football' and the *yatpicchi* games that figure in the Koti Chennaya Paddana. (p. 55) In *Singadana* (1987 b), he has written about the hunting episodes described in the Koti Chennaya Paddana (p. 4), the 'football

game' (p. 8), the funny encounter between Koti Chennaya and a group of cowherds (p. 13), meaning of *yatpicchi* (p. 73) and the *yatpicchi* game played by Koti and Chennaya with the children of Budyanta, and the meaning of the term *singadana* (p. viii). In his *Janapada Sutta Mutta* (Folklore Around), he (1992) has written on : the Didimbiri Garodi festival (p. 27), Koti and Chennaya in *Purusha Vesha* (p. 61), offerings of silver and gold (p. 81), Kujumba Kanja (p. 94), hunting a wild boar by Koti Chennaya (p. 102), folk dances and the background music (p. 105), differences between a *garodi* and a *tāvu* (a place of worship of Koti and Chennaya without a *garoḍi*) (p. 115) and the Ambodi mock battle (p. 126).

Susheela P. Upadhyaya (1989) in her book *Janapada Acharane Mattu Rangakale* (Folk Practices and Performing Art) makes a comparative analysis of the descriptive passages selected from the Mantesvami story, Koti Chennaya story and Siri Paddana. In the Koti Chennaya story, she discusses the story of the Kenjava birds and the deluge and examines the folk song on Bermer and the origin of Bermer. She also refers to the supernatural forces and miracles in the story. (pp. 39 - 47)

Satyanatha T.S. (1988: 17) has tried to place the festival of Koti Chennaya (*Baiderkaḷa Nēma*) in the genre of Kannada folklore.

In their *Tulunadua Garōḍigaḷa Samskrithika Adhyayana* (A Cultural Study on the Garōḍis of Tulunadu), Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian have produced a monumental work on the shrines of Koti Chennaya. The work has paved the way for many other research studies. Their book brings out, in an exhaustive scale, the relationship between *garōḍis* and the *kaḷari* tradition of Kerala. The book discusses the diffusion of *garōḍis* and their architecture; the artistic objects found in the *garōḍis*; the nature of worship that goes on in the *garōḍis*; different conceptualizations of Bermer; and the *garōḍi* sculpture. The book provides the names and addresses of the Billava priest impersonators of Koti Chennaya and the Parava impersonators of Koti Chennaya, with their photographs. The book contains the addresses of all the *garōḍis* located in Tulunadu and elsewhere. There are pictures of some of the *garōḍis*, and there are many sketches and indexes. *Tulunada Garōḍigaḷa Samskrithika Adhyayana* is the first book of the kind on Koti and Chennaya.

In the article *Koti Chennaya*, in Kannada, Krishnappa Malpe (1990) writes:

'You should not think that there were no great persons other than Koti and Chennaya during their time. There must have been many heroes, accomplished warriors, and intellectuals. Why their names do not figure in history or epigraphs is going to trouble us.' He delves into the social structure of the time of Koti and Chennaya which was characterized by class and caste distinctions. He examines how Koti and Chennaya, who belonged to a depressed community, sowed the seed of revolution and how they revolted against the social order of the day.

Peter J. Claus (1991: 4), in his article, *Tulu Paddanas*: *Text and Performance* has discussed Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana and Mayandāl Pāḍḍana sung on the occasion of the

festival of these deities. He has drawn our attention to the singing of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana on other occasions. He says:

'Thus in order to understand the history and geographical spread of *paddanas* we have to collect many versions and view them as parts of a number of potentially independently developing traditions.' (p. 5)

According to Sunita Shetty (1992: i):

'Koti and Chennaya were born to reform a corrupt society. Celibacy practised by them became helpful to them in attaining this goal. The great events that preceded the birth of these epoch-making twins are less significant to me than the importance of their birth itself.'

She argues further why the twin heroes like Koti and Chennaya were needed in a society which was filled with so much venom.

In his research work, *Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Aithihyagaḷu* (Legends of Dakshina Kannada), Subbanna Rai, K. (1994), has discussed the heroism of Koti and Chennaya, their tombs, and the original *garodis* built in their honour. (pp. 71, 75, 101, 104, 109, 134, 149)

Anantharamu, K. (1997) has described the wooden sculptures of Mudradi Garodi (p. 131), and given details of the *Baiderkala nēma* festival of Chantaru Garodi (pp. 285 – 9) and Naravi Garodi (p. 688). He has also discussed different aspects of the fight believed to have taken place between Koti and Chennaya and Kantabare and Budabare. (p. 915)

Amritha Someshwar (1997), in his *Pāḍḍana Sampuṭa* (A Collection of *Pāḍḍanas*) has commented on Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana.

Abhaya Kumar (1992: 136 – 38), in his research work, *Mogēraru-Janānga Jānapada* (The Folklore of the Mogēr Community) has brought out the similarities and the differences in the worship traditions among the similarly situated cultural heroes of Dakshina Kannada.

Lauri Honko (1998), in his *Textualising the Siri Epic*, has commented on the text of Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana and the singing of the *Pāḍḍana* in the performance situations.

Muddu Moodubelle (1999: 78 – 84), in an article in *Pūvari* has given a description of the places associated with the Koti and Chennaya legend *viz*., Padumale and *Eṇmūru*. and provided a brief account of the tombs of Koti Chennaya.

Films and Audio Video recordings on Koti and Chennaya

The first film on Koti and Chennaya in Kannada directed by Vishukumar, and produced by Muddu Suvarna was released in 1972. The research team of the R.R.C. of Udupi has video-taped the *kōla* festival of Kudi Garodi (video cassette no. 164) and Panja Garodi (video cassette no. 180, 181). It has conducted a field study of Enmur and Padumale and video-taped the relevant details (video cassettes 182, 183, and 184). On the basis of these field studies, a half hour video tape in English, *Legend of Koti Chennaya* (*Men, Places and Events*) was prepared in 1992. All these cassettes are preserved in the archive of the R.R.C. Audio tapes of Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana; audio tapes of the programmes broadcast

by All India Radio on Koti and Chennaya, and photographs of *kōla* festival of the *garoḍis* are also preserved in the archive of the R.R.C.

Objectives of the study, scope and methodology

The study of Koti and Chennaya was started by the Basel Mission. It collected many versions of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and documented them in a series of articles. The work by the Basel Mission helped further research on the Koti Chennaya legend and the study of Tuluva culture.

Panje Mangesh Rao has mentioned in the Preface to his book that he had used the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana compiled by Mögling to write his book.

When scholars were able to lay their hands on Panje's book, they became curious to know more about the twin heroes. This curiosity prompted some of them to write books on Koti and Chennaya. The writers who wrote story books, plays, poetic compositions and *yakshagana* texts on Koti and Chennaya were indebted to Panje. They used Panje's book as the source material. Most of the text books on Koti and Chennaya written for school children contained passages selected from Panje's work. On the other hand, those who wanted to study the Koti Chennaya phenomenon relied on the *Pāḍdanas* collected by Mögling, Burnell, and Manner. They have revealed this in their writings.

Most of the literature on Koti Chennaya appeared in the 1970s. Plays and movies on them appeared more-or-less in the same period. It is no surprise that those who saw plays on Koti and Chennaya on the stage wanted to see Koti and Chennaya presented through the *yakshagana* performances.

Yakshagana as a medium of performing arts has its own limitations. Therefore Vishukumar (1967: i) suggested that to popularize the Koti Chennaya legend, the best medium could be presenting the story of their life on the stage. He came forward to write a play in Tulu on Koti and Chennaya. He could have carried on his zeal by presenting a Kannada version of his play. However, by that time he was drawn into film-making and hence this work remained unaccomplished. There is a possibility that even Sitanadi Ganappayya Shetty guessed who could be his potential audience if he wrote and staged a play on Koti and Chennaya. Accordingly he wrote a play on Koti and Chennaya in Tulu. The Kannada version of this play did not become very successful for the same reason. Only two short plays in Kannada on Koti and Chennaya appeared, and they too were not meant to be staged. There is a need to find out the reasons why the audience of the Karnataka theatre has not been able to see a play in Kannada on Koti and Chennaya. Is it because the story of Koti Chennaya has not crossed the regional boundaries? Or is it because of the dearth of study on Koti and Chennaya?

Though the Koti and Chennaya legend appeared in verse, the attempts at presenting their story in verse were not very successful.

Koti and Chennaya became famous because of the stories written on them. It is evident

from the fact that Panje's work went into many editions. Some of the publishing houses like I.B.H. of Bangalore and Bharata Bharati have published story books on Koti Chennaya and popularized their story throughout Karnataka. More or less at the same time, text books on Koti Chennaya appeared. But all these publications were meant for children. Why an exhaustive novel on Koti and Chennaya has not appeared till now, remains a puzzle. Perhaps, the Tuluvas are already satisfied with the popularity of Koti and Chennaya through the motion pictures and *Yakshagana* shows; they must have felt that there is no need to do anything more on this score. It is not true that it is not possible to cross the boundaries of regionalism. Why is it that the novel (by Shivaram Karanth), *Chōmana Duḍi* (The Drum of Choma) written in Kannada became famous and why it did not appear first in Tulu? Why is it that no novel on Koti and Chennaya has appeared in Kannada? Generally such questions do arise.

The different versions of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana documented so far have been collected in the non-performance situations. No study of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana has been undertaken in the context of the actual *kōla* performance and is recorded live when it is sung during the performance.

In the present study, I have made an attempt to study the relationship between the text of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and the singing of the *Pāḍdana* at the time of the actual worship. I have discussed the different stages of the Koti Chennaya *kōla* festival when the *Pāḍdana* is sung. The main objective of the study is to look at the Koti Chennaya legend in the theoretical framework of the context of performance and the actual performance.

Other objectives of the study are: Examining the nature of folk stories, legends, mythologies and folk epics. The study tries to examine the relationship between the story as narrated in the Koti Chennaya Paddana and the worship of Koti and Chennaya. The study tries to look at the style of the Koti Chennaya Paddana, the values it defends, the message it conveys, and the ways in which protest is manifested.

B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 a: 34) has commented that 'Siri Pāḍdana and Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana can be regarded as the twin Tulu folk epics.' How far the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana fulfils the criteria of an epic also comes within the scope of my study.

Examining the historicity of the Koti Chennaya legend, the historicity of the Koti Chennaya Paddana, and worship practices associated with Koti Chennaya comes within the scope of the present study. It appears that an exhaustive study on Bermer, who is the most important divine force in the Koti Chennaya Paddana, has not been done so far. The present study discusses the birth of Kenjava birds, and examines the antecedent story of Deyi Baidedi and the creation of the world. The study tries to explore how Bermer, Permale Ballala, and Deyi Baidedi are linked together in the Koti Chennaya legend. There is also a discussion on the worship of Kujumba Kanja, Okku Ballala, Mayandal, and Jogi Purusha in the *garodis* and the nature and meaning of their worship.

The additional objectives of the study are: Describing the meaning of the word *garodi*

and examining the nature, classification and function of *garodis*. The study examines the relationship between the *kalaris* of Kerala and the *garodis* of Tulunadu.

The twin heroes, Koti and Chennaya are usually studied in isolation without comparing them with other folk heroes and heroines of Tulunadu, namely, Kinnimani-Pūmani, Chandu-Chātu, Kariya Kāsinga-Boliya Dēsinga, Uttanāḍi-Jagannāḍi and Periyākuḷu. In the present work a comparative study has been undertaken. The study proposes to compare Koti Chennaya with the similar folk heroes (and heroines) of Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Different media have dealt with the Koti Chennaya legend in the past. In modern times the Koti Chennaya legend has become quite popular. It is necessary to find out the reasons for the popularity of their legend and assess the influence of the Koti Chennaya phenomenon on the Tuluva folk culture. This is the folkloristic objective of the study.

I have conducted an extensive field study of what is called the cultural Tulunadu—stretching from Kasargod in the south and to Kundapura in the north. I have done audio and video recordings of my field visits, and photographed the relevant materials.

Notes:

1. In 1936, Devudu (penname of late Narasimhachar) used the term, folklore in the sense of culture. In 1950s, in term folklore was used to refer to folk literature (*janapada sahitya*). Gaddagi Matha (1963: 1-2) employed the term folklore in this sense, in his book, *Kannada Janapada Gitegalu* (Kannada Folk Songs). Ha. Ma. Nayaka (1971: 26) gives an indication of using the term 'folk' in the sense of *janapada*; and folklore, in the sense of *jānapada*.
2. Major R. C. Temple was the correspondent and friend of A.C. Burnell. A. C. Burnell died in 1882. After the death of Burnell, Temple collected Burnell's manuscripts and published them.
3. The folk songs collected by Balke between 1943 to1966 are preserved in the archive of the R.R.C. Most of the songs recorded by Balke pertain to *yakshagana*, Kangilu dance, songs sung at the time of unhusking paddy, Koḍamantāya *sandi*, and Siri Paddana, and only a small part of the collection is on Koti Chennaya. (Balke: 1938: Ca. No. 1973. 47 – A) Balke was a Dutch scholar who came to India with his wife to study the origin of (Indian) music, and the Indian culture. A new study on the folk songs recorded by Balke had already been undertaken. (S.A. Krishnaiah, 1994:336)
4. Under the Oral Epic Project, Professor Lauri Honka, and Dr Anneli Honko recorded the Siri Paddana and the Koti Chennaya Paddana sung by Gopala Nayaka of Machar of Beltangadi. As a result, a three-volume Siri Epic was published. Professor B.A. Vivek Rai and Dr K. Chinnappa Gowda participated in the project.
5. B.A. Vivek Rai (1985: 474)
6. Subbayya Shetty (1989: 447)
7. The New Book of Knowledge, Vol. 15: 487
8. Panje writes that his book, *Koti Chennaya* was based on the *Bhuta Sandhi* on Koti Chennaya. (1930: 132) However there are differences between the folk songs of Bhutas and the *paddanas*

of the cultural heroes like Koti and Chennaya. Bhuta folk songs emphasize the supernatural powers of Bhutas and their ability to produce miracles. In the folk songs of The Koti Chennaya Paddana genre, there is a narration of the heroism and struggle of the protagonist of the story during his/her life time. Although the oral epic of Koti Chennaya is called Koti Chennaya Paddana, *Bantere Sandi* or *Baiderle Sandi*, it is not a practice to call it Koti Chennaya Bhuta Sandi.

9. 'The episode of a Brahmin astrologer' described by Panje (1930: 133) is not a new idea. Even in the compilations of Burnell and Manner, there are references to a Brahmin astrologer who serves to the passers-by drinking water sitting on a platform constructed around a tree. (Burnell: 1894: 206–7; and Manner : 1896: 337 - 8)
10 There was a reprint of Panje's *Koti Chennaya* in 1953. When the works of Panje were compiled, *Koti Chennaya* was published again. (See Panje Ramaraya, 1973, pp. 132 – 180) Panje's *Koti Chennaya* was published in a Kannada weekly, *Taranga* in its special issue in 1989.
11. The revised edition of the book appeared in 1992.
12 Unpublished.
13 Reprinted in 1989.
14 Unpublished
15 Unpublished
16 S.R. Furtado (1988: 106 – 123) has published another work, *Bharatada Mukhya Dharmagalu* (The Main Religions of India) in which he has included some portions of his thesis.

CHAPTER - 2

THE KOTI CHENNAYA LEGEND

Pāḍdana, *sandi* and *bīra*

The terms *pāḍdana*, *sandi* and *bīra* are used more or less in the same sense. But these terms have different meanings.

The term *pāḍdana* has a wider meaning than a *sandi* or a *bīra*. A *pāddana*, for example, Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, or Dēvu Pūnja Pāḍdana narrates a complete story. There are different episodes in the story and each episode is a *sandi*, or *sandhi*.[1]

There are many *sandis* in Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana: Kenjava Pakkile Sandi, Ekasaler Sandi, Bama Kumāra Sandi, Deyi Baidyedi Sandi, Banṭere Sandi, Bōnṭeda Sandi, Enṇeda Solme, Koḷalada Sandi, and so on. Singers of the *pāḍdana* may modify a *pāḍdana* depending on the context. Some *pāḍdanas* are sung in one breath and there may not be any *sandis* in them.

There are *pāddanas* that may take five minutes to sing and yet there are *pāḍdanas* that take as long as 24 hours. Normally, it is not possible to finish singing a *pāḍdana* just at one breath. A singer sings for a while, and when the story reaches a particular stage, he stops and takes rest for some time. When a *pāḍdana* is sung in this way, it becomes a different *sandi*. The change of voice—voice modulation—naturally leads to a different rhythm.

It is possible to observe the change of rhythm or tempo of a long *pāḍdana* like the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. The *sandis* may undergo transformation. If the singers are asked whether they change the rhythm as they sing, they do not deny it. How to sing a lengthy *pāḍdana* by modulating one's voice is known to every singer. Therefore, it is natural that there are different *sandis* in a *pāḍdana*. In the collection of the *pāḍdanas* published by Manner (1886: 33 – 52), there are three texts of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana: Deyi Baidedi, Kōṭi Cennaye I, and Kōṭi Cennaye II. These can be viewed as three separate *sandis*. I had recorded the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana sung by Ramakka Poojarthi (1990). The singer had changed her voice eight times in the course of singing the *pāḍdana* and thus, she had sung eight *sandis*.

It rarely happens that a particular *pāḍdana* is sung by one person in a given context. Generally there are two singers: a lead singer and a supporting singer. The lead singer sings the main line and the assistant singer repeats it. The main role of the assistant singer is to provide rest for the lead singer, and the pattern of singing the *pāḍdana* in this way gives rest to the assistant singer as well. The term *sandi* must have originated perhaps because of the practice of 'singing in parts'.

Normally, the term *sandi* is used to refer to a Tulu folk song of a *bhuta, daiva*, or apotheosized person.

At the time of worship, it is not possible to sing the entire *pāḍdana*; therefore only some parts (*sandis*) are sung. These parts become popular as *sandis*. It is a common practice to request a person, 'please sing a *sandi*'. The request also implies that a *sandi* refers to a part of a *pāḍdana*.

Narrating the heroism of an apotheosized person in the ritual context in the form of a *pāḍdana* is a *bīra,* or a *vīra*. Highlighting the importance of a place of worship and magnifying the heroism of the hero is the purpose of a *bīra*. Therefore, the *bīra* is related to the context.

On the night before the festival of Koti and Chennaya, the impersonators of Koti and Chennaya sing Koti Chennaya Bīra. The singing goes on throughout the night. They sit inside the *garoḍi*, in front of the shrine of Bermer, and sing the *bīra*. This is singing the *sandi*. At the time of the *kōla* ceremony on the following night, in the beginning of the *kōla* and during the various stages of the *kōla* ceremony, they repeat the same *bīra*.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana is an oral epic of many episodes; the successive episode tells a story of —

1. Kenjava birds 2. Ēkana Sālēr 3. Bamalla Kumara 4. Jēvu Kēdage 5. Deyi Baidedi 6. Permale Ballala 7. birth of the twins 8. death of Deyi 9. Sayana Baidya taking care of the twins 10. the 'ball-game' 11. cultivating the *kambula* field 12. Budyanta 13. inquiry of Koti Chennaya by the Ballala on the death of Budyanta 14. the journey of Koti Chennaya to Panja 15. the toll-collector, Dēre 16. a funny encounter between Koti Chennaya and a group of cowherds 17. the meeting between Koti Chennaya and Kinnidaru 18. imprisonment of Koti Chennaya 19. stay of Koti Chennaya at Enmur 20. Koti Chennaya hunting a wild boar 21. the battle 22. death of Chandugidi 23. the tragic death of Koti Chennaya 24. the holy dip of Koti Chennaya and 25. worship of Koti Chennaya in the *garodis*.

An outline of the story of Koti Chennaya

There are seven oceans. In the seventh ocean, Sun God emerges. On his right side and left side, two Kenjava birds, a male and a female, take birth. They grow up as brother and sister. As they grow up, they desire for a progeny. With the blessings of God Narayana, they become husband and wife. The female Kenjava bird becomes pregnant. She develops a craving to drink the nectar of a lotus flower found in a place located across seven oceans. To satisfy the craving of his wife, the male bird flies across the seven oceans. He finds the

flower and puts his beak to suck the nectar. But his beak gets entrapped in the petals of the flower.

When her husband does not return, the female bird becomes worried. She offers a prayer to God Narayana, 'If my Kenjava returns safely I will offer the first egg that I lay at your feet.'

The male bird returns safely and the female bird drinks the nectar brought by him. She lays her first egg. They carry the egg to offer to God. However, as they fly with the egg placed on their wings, the egg falls into a sea. When they carry the second egg, it falls on the land and breaks into pieces. Kanchi Kadanganda palace is created from the shell of the egg, and from the yolk, Munna Maikundara palace. Ekana Saler takes birth in the Kanchi Kadanganda palace, and Gundudabbe Deyyar Giliramu, in the Manna Maikunda palace. They get married and beget a son, Bamalla Kumara.

When Bamalla Kumara is still an infant, he goes to Aliyuru to play with the children of a 'thousand and one' kings. Kumara defeats the children. They push him into a well and seal the mouth of the well with a stone slab. When his mother happens to come by the same road, she pledges an offering to a deity and rescues him. When he comes out of the well, he tells his mother, 'This is the last time you see me. Henceforth, you will not be able to see me. You will give birth to another son.'

Then he disappears and becomes the Bermer spirit. Parmale Ballala is the second son born to Deyyaru.

When Pejanar, a Brahmin goes to take bath in the sea, he gets the egg that has fallen into the sea in the form of a lemon. He takes it home and gives it to his wife, Vapatti Madimal. She keeps it in a vessel filled with rice. The following day they find a baby girl in the rice vessel. The childless Brahmin couple name her, Jevu Kedage. She grows fast and reaches puberty before she is married. Since she has attained puberty before she is married off, in accordance with the prevailing custom among the Brahmins of that time, she has to be abandoned in a forest, blindfolded. Her father abandons her in the Sankamale forest.

Sayana Baidya, who has gone to the Sankamale forest to draw toddy from the toddy palms, finds her crying. He rescues her and brings her to his house. He gives her a new name, Deyi. Then he arranges her marriage with one Kantana Baidya of Kangu Hittilu.

Parmale Ballala goes hunting with the people of his tiny kingdom. He shoots at a wild boar with an arrow. As he shoots, a poisonous thorn pricks the sole of his foot. Because of intense pain, he collapses. Tying together a few logs, his men make a rough litter (stretcher) and carry him in the litter to his manor house.

The Ballala calls for his advisors, Budu Bommaya and Chavadi Santaya. He instructs them to find an expert in folk medicine to treat him. Amana Bannaya, one of the tenants of the Ballala, treats him. The Ballala does not get any relief. He is now in the death throes and pleads to get someone else to treat him.

The Ballala learns that Deyi Baidyedi of Eraje is very proficient in folk medicine; however

she cannot come to the manor house since she is heavily pregnant. He sends his palanquin to bring Deyi. Deyi refuses to board the palanquin of the Ballala and keeps her medicine case in the palanquin, and holding onto the palanquin for support, goes to the manor house on foot.

Deyi hesitates to enter the manor house because of the prevailing customs, a Billava woman was not allowed to enter the manor house; but in a life-and-death situation, who cares! The Ballala requests her to come inside the manor house and treat him. She examines his foot and diagnoses his disease as—*Kempu Gendali Bapu Badangala*. She grinds herbs, applies a medicinal paste to the affected foot, chants some magical incantations and cools the wound with leaves. As days pass, the swelling on the foot of the Ballala subsides and the pain is reduced. Now he is able to get up and walk.

The Ballala promises to give to her would-be born children the reward due to her for successfully treating him and saving his life. He felicitates her and gives her presents. She sets out to go home and just then she develops labour pain. The Ballala makes the necessary arrangements for her delivery in a shed of his manor house. She gives birth to twin boys. On the sixteenth day of her childbirth when she goes to a brook to wash the soiled clothes of her children, a dry coconut leaf falls on her and she dies.

The Ballala looks after the infants. He organizes their naming ceremony. He gives the name Koti to the first-born twin, and for the second-born, he gives the name Chennaya. When they reach childhood, he sends them with their uncle, Sayana. When they are with Sayana, they express a desire to play with the children of their age group. One day they see the children of Budyanta, the minister of the Ballala, playing a 'football' game. They wish to play with them.

In those days children used to play competitive games: *yatpicchi gobbu*, *kadenji kayi gobbu*, *palleda gobbu* and *chendda gobbu*.

The children of the minister refuse to allow Koti and Chennaya to play with them. However, they persuade the minister's children to play with them. Koti and Chennaya win in most of the games they play and the children of the minister are defeated. They go to Budyanta and complain against Koti and Chennaya.

Budyanta interferes, scolds Koti and Chennaya, insults them, and snatches the ball from them. Koti and Chennaya get angry and throw a challenge at Budyanta:

'You have snatched the ball from our little hands. Go and keep it safely in the attic of your house. When we grow up, we will take back the ball in these very hands.'

Budyanta carries the ball to his house and hides it in the garret of his house.

Budyanta was nursing a grudge against Koti and Chennaya ever since their mother was allowed to enter the manor house of the Ballala and also because of the fact that the Ballala took care of them when they were infants. He was jealous of Koti and Chennaya.

Isara Kambi of Ijanagara is called to remove the evil spells from the faces of Koti and Chennaya and bring lustre to their faces (*i.e.* to undertake the first shave). Then, with the

consent of Sayana, they go for gymnastic training. As a result of gymnastic training, they become accomplished fighters.

The Ballala grants the lower division of the *kambuḷa* field of the Anilaje field to Koti and Chennaya so that they could pursue agriculture to make a living and also continue toddy tapping. The upper division of the *kambula* field remains with Budyanta.

One day Budyanta is on his way to an astrologer to fix an auspicious day to sow his division of the *kambula* field to raise the second crop of the season—*Suggi* crop. Koti and Chennaya request him to fix an auspicious day to sow their *kambula* field as well. The astrologer suggests the same day for sowing both the *kambula* divisions. However, Budyanta conspires to hold the sowing festival of his field earlier than that of Koti and Chennaya. He tells a lie to Koti and Chennaya:

'Ballaya has suggested that this Tuesday will be an auspicious day to sow my field and the following Tuesday has been fixed for your *kambula* field.'

Koti and Chennaya realize the conspiracy because the day suggested by the minister falls on a new moon day and no farming activity takes place on that day. Hence they decide to hold the sowing festival on the same day as that of the minister.

Accordingly, they request the people of the village: 'Those who have two pairs of oxen, kindly send one pair to our field with a plough-man and the other, you may send it to Budyanta. Those who have only one pair, you decide whom to send.'

On the day of sowing, Koti and Chennaya finish ploughing and sowing their field much before Budyanta does. Since ploughing has not been completed in the field of Budyanta, Koti and Chennaya send their men and he-buffaloes to the field of Budyanta. He feels insulted and beats up the men and the draught animals sent by Koti and Chennaya, and drives them away.

On the seventh day of sowing Koti goes to release water from his *kambula* field and Chennaya goes to the Sankamale forest to draw toddy. Budyanta has already gone to release water from his field. He has released water from his field to the field of Koti Chennaya, and damaged the young paddy plants. Koti questions the action of Budyanta. Budyanta insults and abuses Koti. Chennaya hears the angry exchange between Budyanta and Koti. He hurriedly comes down from the palm tree and rushes to the Anilaje field with a sword in his hand. When Budyanta sees the angry Chennaya, he gets up from the Padma platform where has been resting, and tries to run away. Chennaya chases him, catches him by his tuft, pulls him down and kills him with his sword. They place the body in the opening dug up by Budyanta to release water to their field. They remove his dress and ornaments. Using the spade of Budyanta, they cover each limb of Budyanta with the mud drawn from the *kambula* field. Placing the spade on the Padma platform in the upright position, they decorate the spade with his dress and ornaments. From a distance, the decorated spade appears as if he is resting on the Padma platform.

Then the heroes go to his house. The wife of Budyanta is quite surprised to see them.

They tell her: 'Budyanta—our master and your husband—is tired; he is standing near the Padma platform. He is thirsty and he wants water.'

She asks them, 'O children, before coming here, what have you done? Have you left him alive or dead?

They reply, 'If it (his body) remains, it will emit foul smell, and if it is burnt, it will give out the burnt smell'.

They climb the garret of his house and take away the ball. Playing with it, they go.

Budyanta's wife goes to the Anilaje field carrying water with her. She is shocked to see the fate befallen on her husband and cries inconsolably.

The Ballala calls Koti and Chennaya to the manor house and questions them about the death of Budyanta. They in turn remind him of the promise he has given to their mother. He tells them to ask whatever they wish. They demand one of the following: The vast front field of the manor house, a red coconut tree with a platform constructed around it, a highbred she-buffalo, or a jackfruit tree that yields throughout the year. The Ballala refuses to part with any. Then Koti and Chennaya ask for the flower garden of the royal ladies of the manor house.

The Ballala gets angry and shouts: 'You have asked for the flower garden of the royal ladies, next time you might ask for the royal ladies. You have crossed your limits. You must be punished for your crime.'

He orders the arrest of the heroes. The warriors put a condition: 'O Ballala, you have six months to fulfil our demand.'

Touching the wooden pillar of the manor house, they set a deadline on Ballala and hurriedly walk out of the manor house.

Koti and Chennaya leave Parmale and go to the neighbouring Panja manor. On the way many become victims of their rashness. As they reach the top of the Panja hill, they meet a group of boys tending cattle. Chennaya pokes fun at the boys:

'Look here, a he-buffalo of yours has delivered a calf and it is licking the calf.'

They reply:

'He-buffalo has not delivered the calf; it has defecated and it is sniffing at its own dung. Look here warriors, the country to the west from where you have come is on fire; turn and see.'

The heroes respond,

'It is not that the sea on the west that has caught fire; it is the sunset.'

The warriors get angry and threaten the boys. Then they ask them the way to Panja.

As they go to Panja, they feel thirsty and go to a house and ask for water. A woman brings a pot of water and gives it to the heroes. However they do not take the water. They tell her:

'We don't drink water from others without knowing their caste or the lineage. We will drink the water given by you only after ascertaining your caste and your family background.'

She says:

'If you wish to know my caste and the family background, I have no problem. But it's a long story.'

'I am Kinnidaru and my mother is Deyi Baidyedi. I got married when I was quite young and my husband is from this place. Since my marriage, I have been staying here, and I haven't visited my maternal home. It seems my mother gave birth to twin boys. It is said that she did not live long after the childbirth. I have been told that the children are given the names, Koti and Chennaya. I haven't seen them, and I am eager to see them.'

After listening to her story, brothers tell her,

'O elder sister, we are the same Koti and Chennaya.'

Kinnidaru is delighted. She embraces them and brings them to the veranda of the house. She extends them all the hospitality. In the meanwhile Payya Baidya, her husband, who has gone to draw toddy, returns. He hears somebody talking to his wife. He peeps through the window. He realizes that the persons she is speaking to are his brothers-in-law. Seeing their physique, he becomes a little unnerved.

Enjoying the hospitality, Koti Chennaya stay with their sister for a few days. Then, with the help of their brother-in-law, they go to meet Kemara Ballala of Panja. At the same time, Kemara Ballala receives a letter from Parmale Ballala. The letter says:

'The murderous Koti and Chennaya have assassinated Budyanta, the minister of Parmale and escaped from here. They must be arrested wherever they are and must be given suitable punishment.'

In the pretext of welcoming them, Kemara Ballala hatches a plot to capture them. He instructs his military chief, Chandugidi to imprison them. Chandugidi, who sees Koti and Chennaya as his adversaries, readily agrees. He treacherously imprisons them in the garret of a new palace and fastens them with strong chains. At the unexpected treachery, they are taken by surprise. They are utterly dejected. They invoke their family deity, Bermer. They see a ray of light coming through a crack in the wall. They kick the wall with force. The wall breaks down and they escape from the prison.

As they go by a forest road, they see somebody approaching them. He is the soldier sent by Devanna Ballala of Enmur. Devanna Ballala and Kemara Ballala are not in good terms. They have fought over the boundary dispute many a time. Devanna Ballala feels that if the warriors like Koti and Chennaya are in his kingdom, he would face lesser troubles from his neighbours. Therefore he has sent his soldier, Kinni Chennaya to the forest to bring Koti and Chennaya to his kingdom. Even Koti and Chennaya have been searching for a place to stay. They follow Kinni Chennaya.

On the way they see a shrine on the top of a hill. They ask Kinni Chennaya about the shrine. He informs them that it is the shrine of the folk spirit, Bermer of Kemmale. Suddenly they remember the offering they are supposed to make to their family deity, Bermer, who had saved them from danger. They go to the shrine of Bermer and make the offering.

When they reach Enmur, Devanna Ballala gives them a rousing welcome. He appoints them as commanders of his army and grants them a separate place for their stay. For a while he remains without any tension because Koti and Chennaya are protecting his kingdom.

Kemara Ballala of Panja is disturbed. He waits for an opportunity to get even with Koti and Chennaya.

One day Koti and Chennaya, accompanied by the people of Enmur, go hunting. Chennaya shoots a wild boar with an arrow and the injured animal runs away. When it is chased, it crosses to the Panja territory and dies. The people of Panja are not willing to part with the dead boar. Chennaya drags the animal to the side of a rock called Manjalpade. The people of Panja go and complain to Kemara Ballala. He sends a letter to Devanna Ballala of Enmur:

'You have to return the boar that your people have hunted illegally in the Panja territory. If you don't retun the boar, be ready for a battle.'

Koti and Chennaya advise Devanna Ballala to inform him that they are ready for a showdown.

They prepare the Enmur army for the battle. They get the permission from Devanna Ballala to go to war. Before they go, they call for Kujumba Kanja of Uppu Sekara Ballala Bettu. They tell him, 'If we return, the paddy fields are for us; if we don't, they are for you.'

Koti and Chennaya are forced to fight separately against two army units of the enemy. Since they were always together and when they are to be separated in the battle field, they symbolically tell each other:

'If one of us dies before the other, he has to become a white crow and crow, perched on the crossbar of the Enmur well.'

In the course of the battle, an arrow pierces the leg of Koti. He turns around and sees Parmale Ballala. He is shocked, and laments, 'O Ballala, you have done this act in the same hands with which you took care of us when we were children, haven't you?'

Koti collapses as he utters these words. Chennaya comes looking out for his elder brother. He sees his brother lying dead. He is not able to control himself. Though they have won the battle, he is shocked to see the death of his brother. He feels that without his brother his life has no meaning. He bangs his head against a nearby rock and dies.

Thus, the bodies of two brothers lie on the Panja hill. Everyone feels sorry for the death of the brothers. They had to sacrifice their lives because of the deceit of a person who was their protector once. The Ballalas repent their actions. They used to hate each other; now they decide to bury their hatchets.

A first shrine, a *garodi*, in the names of these twin warriors was set up in Enmur. They, along with their family deity, Bermer are now worshipped in the *garodis* spread all over Tulunadu.

Position of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana in the Tulu folklore

In the Tulu folklore, the Koti Chennaya legend appears in various forms: as story, folk song, and form of worship. In terms of structure, Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana belongs to the category of narrative poems of supernatural beings. Since the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana possesses the characteristics of the person-based narrative, it can be classified as a legend. *Koti Chennaya* appears extensively in the Tulu folk song genre as a song (*pāḍdana*) of the supernatural persons. According to B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 a: 27):

'You can classify *pāḍdanas* under ballads. With respect to the theme, *pāḍdanas* come under folk mythologies.'

The Kannada equivalence of a ballad is a *lāvaṇi*. In the folk song tradition, a song with a story can be called a *lāvaṇi*. Story is most important in a *lāvaṇi*. According to J. S. Paramashivaiah (1971: 15),

'A *lāvaṇi* is a short, simple poem that narrates a popular story.'

'Music is an important element in the singing of a *lāvaṇi*; however music is not always required. In the woman *lāvaṇi* songs, playing of music is rare.' (*ibid*: 14)

To a certain extent, the aforesaid characteristics of a *lāvaṇi* are applicable to the *pāḍdanas*. B.A. Vivek Rai feels that, 'many *pāḍdanas* go beyond ballads, and become folk epics.' (1985 a: 27)

'The Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana is a sufficiently long narrative poem with three or four episodes in which the twin heroes are the protagonists. From its immense popularity throughout Tulunadu and taking into consideration its theme, composition, and style, it can be viewed as a folk epic.' (*ibid*: 54)

Hence, the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana is distinct from other *pāḍdanas*.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, from the point of view of worship, can be placed among the performing art forms of Tulu folklore. The Tuluva worship tradition is called spirit worship, or the worship of local deities. The twin brothers are worshipped in the *garoḍis* as the cultural heroes of Tulunadu. The spirit worship of the Tuluvas is basically hero-worship.

Reasons for the popularity of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana

There are many reasons for the popularity of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana.

'In Tulu folklore, the *pāḍdanas* related to spirit worship get importance because of their distinctive narrative style. *Pāḍdanas* have direct impact on the religious life of the people of Tulunadu. No folk tale has either the religious context, or a religious theme similar to a Tulu *pāḍdana*.' (B.A. Vivek Rai: 1985 a: 313)

The work of a folk tale is different from that of a *pāḍdana*. Some of the folk tales are meant for entertainment. There is a perception that 'grandmother-tales' and fictions are unrealistic / imaginary stories. But, *pāḍdanas* are rooted in the belief and worship traditions of the people. Therefore, the heroes and the heroines of a *pāḍdana* command more respect than the heroes and heroines of a folk tale. In real life, the influence of the heroes and the

heroines of a *pāḍdana* is much more pronounced than that of the heroes and heroines of a folk tale. Since a *pāḍdana* has more powerful motifs than a story, it has greater popularity and a wider spread.

As discussed by Bascom, William (1981: 46), 'The social and cultural relationships of folklore are akin to the relationships of folklore, and the activities of the folklore to the culture of a people.'

In the Tuluva context, these relationships are reflected in the *pāḍdanas*.

Scholars like Malinowski (1926: 90) have delineated the following aspects of folklore:

'When and where the different forms of folklore are narrated? Who narrates them? Do they deal with the private lives of the people? Who mobilizes the audience? The folklore gives details of the narrator's gestures, signs, facial expression, dramatization and mime, display of prowess (*aṇuku*), acting, laughter, happiness, reaction, analysis, praise, and singing. It gives information about the participation of the audience, the classification of folklore as recognized by the people, and people's reaction to the classification.'

Pāḍdanas possess the qualities mentioned above. But, the involvement of the audience to the singing of a *pāḍdana* is more of a collective rather than a private reaction.

Theme and the motif of Koti Chennaya legend

There are many motifs in Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. In this respect, Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana contains a complete story. The story deals with the birth of the twins, their upbringing, exhibition of heroism by them, and the diffusion of their story. The *pāḍdana* narrates the events that took place before the birth of the twins, their deification after their death, and so on. Therefore, Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana possesses an important feature of an epic *i.e.* having many cantos: Bermere Bīra, Kenjava Pakkile Sandi, Pejanar Sandi, Deyi Baidedi Sandi, Parmale Ballale Sandi, Budyanata Sandi, and Bantara Sandi.

When we look closely at the entire Koti Chennaya legend, the antecedent events prior to the birth of Koti Chennaya constitute a separate story. It is the antecedent story of Deyi Baidyedi. Most of the storytellers narrating the story of the twin heroes begin with Parmale Ballala and then the story progresses in the following line: Parmale Ballala goes hunting; while hunting a wild boar, a poisonous thorn pricks his foot and he falls grievously ill; he suffers intense pain; the heavily pregnant Deyi comes to the manor house and treats the Ballala; she delivers twins in the manor house; and so on. And finally, the story ends with the death of the twins and the setting up of a *garoḍi* in Enmur in their honour.

The Koti Chennaya story takes a turn when the twins kill Budyanta and leave Parmale after setting a deadline on Parmale. Then they meet their elder sister Kinnidaru. She tells them her caste and the family background; they inform her who they are. The story that the girl born from an egg of the Kenjava birds is Deyi Baidyedi; and Kinnidaru and the twin heroes are the children of Deyi Baidyedi—is the antecedent story within the Koti Chennaya story.

The technique of the antecedent story

Since Koti Chennaya are not ordinary individuals, their birth is also preceded by extraordinary events. Their birth is explained supernaturally. Therefore, even in their birth, they show certain miracles. There are differences between folk heroes and mythological heroes regarding the background of their birth and what caused their birth. In the birth of the mythological heroes, the miracles start to appear as they are born. The folk heroes, on the other hand, take birth in the normal way, but there are miraculous events related to their conception. Their mothers do not become pregnant in the normal way; their conception is sudden and abrupt.

After the birth of the heroes the story of their parents does not progress much and they die untimely. Then the development of the heroes takes place. The mother of Koti Chennaya does not have a human origin. Her birth is divinely ordained and she takes birth from an egg of the Kenjava birds. Therefore, it is not possible for ordinary humans to give birth to such heroes. There is a possibility of embellishment of the birth of the heroes to prove that their birth is willed by the folk spirit, Bermer. Embellishment still continues.

The original village folk deities, because of the Vedic influence, are often metamorphosed into the deities of Hindu mythology.

A Brahmin gets the egg that fell into the sea. He gets it in the form of a lemon. A fisherman or any other person could have got the egg.

The pollution inherent in the egg is cleansed by the lemon. The process of transformation of one thing into another takes place here and the transformation itself is a miracle. The process is indescribable. But, there is some purpose behind any miracle. The miracle is directly related to the hand behind the miracle. Behind every miracle there is an invisible hand. The purpose of the miracle and the invisible hand are complementary to each other. The miracle that occurs in front of the curtain and the logic of the miracle behind the curtain are the same. The differences between the miracle and the purpose of the miracle are very subtle and unclear. Therefore, the differences in the transformation of one thing to another are also very subtle.

The grandmother's ***tale*** **motif** ***(aḍagūlajji)***

The grandmother's tale motif is reflected in the role of Kinnidaru. The story preceding this stage (where Koti Chennaya meet Kinnidaru) is the first half of the Koti Chennaya story, and the heroism of Koti Chennaya and their struggle after they go to Panja, is the second half of the story. Further development of the heroes takes place after their meeting with Kinnidaru, and the Kinnidaru episode gives a new turn to the story. Generally heroes show their valour and achievements in a country other than the country of their birth. The development of the personality of the heroes and the attainment of fame by them appear in the second half of the story. They get greater opportunities to exhibit their heroism in the places other than the places of their birth.

The role of Devanna Ballala of Enmur is a critical factor for Koti Chennaya to exhibit their heroism. And yet to show their military exploits, Kemara Ballala of Panja, an enemy of Devanna Ballala, provides the perfect situation. But the story ends in a tragedy. Three Ballalas, who are inimical to one another, learn to live together after the tragic end of the heroes.

Though Kinnidaru is the elder sister of Koti and Chennaya and she is the only daughter of her parents, there is no news about her when her brothers are born, or when her mother dies. She could have made her appearance at least as the daughter of Sayana Baidya's sister (Deyi). The meeting between the heroes and their elder sister takes place in unusual circumstances. After they leave Parmale and reach Panja, they suddenly remember what their uncle had told them:

'Enquire about the well-being of your elder sister, Kinnidaru. She was given in marriage at very young age. Ever since she went to her husband's house, she has not visited her maternal home even once.'

When Koti and Chennaya are in Parmale or when they leave Parmale, there is no situation in the story where Sayana or anybody else could have made a reference to her. All these create a strong suspicion that she is an insufficiently developed character in the story, or she has been introduced subsequently in a specific situation. In the entire story her role does not get that much importance. One of the motifs of folklore, the *aḍagūḷajji* motif gets expressed through her role.

In the Koti Chennaya story the heroic exploits of the twin heroes are given more importance. Introducing Kinnidaru through the heroism of her warrior brothers is perhaps the technique employed to enhance the importance of the brave brothers. Absence of Kinnidaru in the first half of the Koti Chennaya story probably establishes the veracity of an age-old Tulu dictum: 'a woman who is given in marriage remains beyond the periphery of her maternal family.'

If it were not so, could there not have been some arrangement to inform her about the birth of her brothers, or at least to observe birth pollution? The news about them would have been an important piece of information when they grow up in the house of Sayana, or when they cultivate the *kambula* field.

According to some texts, Kinnidaru is not the real sister of Koti and Chennaya. As she introduces herself:

'Sayana Baidya had a sister, Deyi Baidyedi. She was given in marriage to Kantanna Baidya of Kargol Thota. I was born to them. My mother died when I was an infant. My father married again. A Brahmin maiden had been left blindfolded in the forest. Sayana Baidya rescued her. He took her home, and cared for her and changed her name to Deyi Baidyedi. Then he arranged her marriage with my father, Kantanna Baidya.' (Bannanje Babu Amin: 1982: 40-1)

However, the above version is rare. In most of the Koti Chennaya stories, she is described as the real sister of Koti and Chennaya.

In some versions of the story, Devanna Ballala is described as the ruler of Enmur, *i.e.*, he is Enmur Ballala. In some other texts, the ruler of Enmur is Manju Pergade. In Panje's *Koti Chennaya*, the ruler of Enmur is Devanna, and in Vishukumar's work, Manju Pergade. Vishukumar has remarked (1972: i) that it is difficult to decide which is correct. In Burnell's collection, he is Devanajire Ballala, and in Bannanje Babu Amin's work, Deva Ballala. There is a possibility that Manju Pergade must have been the minister of Devanna Ballala as Budyanta is the minister of Parmale Ballala, and Chandugidi, of Kemara Ballala. In the *yakshagana* text, *Baidarkala Pratāpa*, Manju Pergade is described as the leader of the royal court of Deva Ballala.

As far as I know, in no text on Koti Chennaya, both the names—Devanna Ballala and Manju Pergade—appear together.

Hunting episodes in the Koti Chennaya legend

The story of Koti Chennaya is interspersed between two hunting episodes: The birth of the twins takes place after the first episode, and their death, after the second episode.

It is a common problem in the villages that wild animals enter the fields and destroy crops. Therefore, they are hunted. Among these animals, the wild boar is one of the animals hunted, and the details of the hunting of the wild boars appear in many *pāḍdanas*. In Panjurli Pāḍdana, there is an episode where God Ishvara goes to kill the wild boars that have destroyed his beautiful garden and he curses them. (B.A. Vivek Rai: 1985 a: 21)

Hunting was not just a matter of entertainment; rather it was a celebration in which the entire village participated. It was a periodic compulsory celebration for the wellbeing of the village.

Parmale Ballala gets a dream in which he sees a flood of flowing blood. As he wakes up from his dream, he becomes disturbed. He calls for the astrologer, Ballaya, and the astrologer advises:

'The dilapidated palace must be redone; the disused wells must be cleaned; oblations to the manes must be made; the abandoned water canals must be repaired; and encircling the forest, hunting expedition must be organized.' (Monte Gowda and Ishvara Gowda: 1989)

The dream experienced by the Ballala is not a dream related to his personal or family life; rather it refers to the day-to-day affairs of the village. When the social and the collective activities of the village are not carried on, the village suffers. The dream of the Ballala is a kind of forewarning about this.

The Tuluvas have a special festival for hunting and there is also a special occasion to go fishing. The practice of collective hunting once in a year on the day of the *Keddasa* festival is still prevalent. In some places, the ritual fishing is practised on the occasion of the festivals of certain folk deities.

There is a reference to hunting in the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. Parmale Ballala goes hunting along with the people of his kingdom. While he is hunting a wild boar, a thorn pricks

him badly. The wound of the thorn prick endangers his life. When the wound does not heal, the person who successfully treats him is Deyi Baidyedi. She uses her expertise in folk medicine to treat him.

At her sudden and untimely death, Parmale Ballala takes care of her children. After Koti Chennaya go to Enmur, Devanna Ballala of Enmur helps them. Even here there is a hunting episode. While hunting a wild boar, Koti and Chennaya earn the enmity of Kemara Ballala. The wild boar which is hunted on the border of Enmur, dies inside the Panja territory. This leads to a fight between the two neighbouring principalities.

'The boar that escaped after being injured in the hunt at Parmale was the same boar[2] hunted by Koti and Chennaya in Panja.'

The episode of hunting of the wild boar is found in the Mahabharata. There is an episode of creating fight between Arjuna, who was doing penance at the Indrakila Mountain and Ishvara, impersonating as the hunter.

Hunting a wild boar by Koti and Chennaya leads to a fight between Kemara Ballala and Devanna Ballala, and the fight results in the tragic death of Koti and Chennaya. The Ballalas of Panja and Enmur are not in good terms, but have been at war against each other. Parmale Ballala, who aligns with the Ballala of Panja, has tried to defeat Koti and Chennaya. However his efforts had gone in vain. Now he sees an opportunity to avenge and deviously shoots Koti with an arrow from a hiding place. The arrow pierces the leg of Koti. The person who treated Parmale Ballala when he was mortally sick was the mother of these heroes. They finally die because of the cunning of the same person whose life was saved by their mother. This is the most important aspect of the Koti Chennaya story.

In the Bhagavata, there is an instance where a hunter tries to shoot Lord Krishna in the leg and the hunter dies as a result. In the Ramayana, Lord Rama shoots Vali with an arrow, hiding behind a tree and Vali dies. When a hero cannot be killed directly, he is killed by deceit. There are many instances of this kind of strategy being used to kill a hero. There is a need to examine these events in the light of the belief that the strength or life of a hero lies in his legs.[3]

The Ballala, who is responsible for the death of Koti and Chennaya, constructs a shrine (*garoḍi*) for them and starts worshipping them. The practice of constructing a shrine for a person after killing him and worshipping the slain hero by installing his idol has become a cultural tradition. In many places of worship, you find idols of persons who were killed or who embraced death.[4]

Although the toxin of the poisonous thorn on Parmale Ballala subsides for a while, it manifests again. The same thorn, as an arrow becomes responsible for the death of the heroes. Perhaps the same toxin spreads through various characters in the story as a spark of enmity. It continues from one episode of hunting to another. Therefore, the initial thorn prick is a symbolic indication of the things to come.

Nature of worship of Koti and Chennaya

Koti and Chennaya, who belonged to the Billava community, are the twin cultural heroes of Tulunadu. They are worshipped as Baidyerlu or Baiderlu in the temples called *garoḍis*.

Spirit worship can be viewed as a form of fertility worship, or magical worship. It is also ancestor worship or the worship of the memory of the heroes. Baiderlu are the family deities of the Billava community. Koti and Chennaya are the apotheosized historical persons who died untimely. In the *garoḍis*, it is not a practice to call Koti and Chennaya by their names; instead they are called Baiderlu. Their shrines / temples are Brahma-Baiderle Garodis or Baiderle Garodis. Koti and Chennaya acquire the supernatural status after they leave the physical world and hence they receive a form of worship rooted in mythology. In terms of the local legends and the historical events, they are Koti and Chennaya or the warrior heroes; in the supernatural or invisible world, they are Baiderlu; at birth they are younger brother and elder brother; and in the physical world, they are warriors.

There are many other folk deities that carry labels of specific communities: Uḷḷakuḷu of the Jains, Siri, of the Bunts, and Muggerlu of the Mugēra community. Like the term *akulu*, which is used in the plural sense as a respectful way of addressing a person, there are many other similar terms—*amberlu*, *kumberlu*, *akkerlu*, *abberlu*.

Classification of the Tuluva worship traditions

The worship traditions of the Tuluvas can be classified into: spirit worship, serpent worship, and Siri worship. Serpent worship is further classified into *nāgamanḍala*, and *dhakke bali*.

Spirit worship consists of worshipping of different types of local deities or folk deities. They are totemic animal spirits, anthropomorphic spirits, mythological spirits, and the spirits that have regional importance.

Anthropomorphic spirits are again classified into those human beings who became spirits because of coming into contact with some spirits, and those who became spirits because of untimely death, or suicide, or because the person was murdered.

Those who became spirits because of untimely death, or suicide, or murder can be twin heroes or cultural heroes. They are invested with miraculous powers. Some of the heroes and heroines of the Tulu folklore are: Ullakulu, or Kinnimani-Pūmani of the Jain community; Abbaga-Dāraga of the Bunt community; Periyākuḷu or Vira-Vikrama of the Jain community; Baidyerlu, or Koti-Chennaya of the Billava community; Mugērlu, or Deyya-Sani of the Mugēra community; and Manyale Pernale, or Kanada-Katada of the Mansa community.

The places of worship of the Tuluvas

Some of the places of worship of the Tuluvas are: *ālaḍe*, *garoḍi*, *māḍa* or *koṭya*, *sāna*, *kaḷa*, *kaṭṭe*, and *manja*. Bermer is the principal deity in *ālaḍes or Brahmasthānas*, *garoḍis*,

and *kaḷas*. Bermer appears to be the presiding deity in the shrines of the heroes representing a community.

The important worship traditions of the Tuluvas are: *nāgamanḍala* (possession ritual of the serpent spirits, *ḍakkebali* (traditional form of possession ritual of the serpent spirits by the Panara community), *ottekōla* (the *kōla* festival of the Vishnumurti folk deity), *maime* (the possession ritual of the Jatadhari folk deity), *nēma* or *kōla* (general terms used to describe the festivals of all the folk deities of the Tuluvas), *āyana* (a fair of a village temple), *arsāyo* (worshipping at home the presiding deity of Tirupati with the help of a mendicant, Dasayya), *banḍi* (a *kōla* festival where a cart is pulled with the Bhuta impersonator), *tambila* (food-offering to a folk deity), *siridarshana* (worship of the Siri folk deities), and *Māripūje* (worship of the goddess, Mari).

Difference between spirit worship and the worship of Baiderlu

Baiderlu are conceptualized in the name of a community. Under what subgroup Baiderlu be classified: under *bhutas* (malevolent or ferocious spirits), or under *daivas* (benevolent or mild spirits)? On the surface, *bhuta*, *dyeva* or *daiva* and *preta* appear indistinguishable; however, there are fundamental differences among these supernatural beings.

'If you leave aside the *pāḍḍanas* of the *bhutas*, there are other *pāḍḍanas* that are related to human beings who performed heroic or supernatural deeds when they were alive and who came to be worshipped after their death. Such persons are not described as *bhutas*.' (B.A. Vivek Rai: 1985 a: 33)

Peter J. Claus (1973) has given the following classification of *bhutas / daivas*:

'The people of South Kanara classify *bhuta* along two axes: implicitly, according to the iconographic form; and explicitly, according to the linguistic designation. Iconographic representations distinguish two types, animal *bhuta* and anthropomorphic *bhuta*. Explicit linguistic terms distinguish *kutumbada bhuta* (family *bhuta*), *jagda bhuta* and *uruda bhuta*.' (pp. 232 – 3)

The souls of the persons who die untimely join the ranks of the *bhutas* or *daivas*. Koti Chennaya occupy positions on the right side of Bermer. Such souls are thought to be different from *bhutas*. In this context, Peter J. Claus (1973) writes:

'...the ghosts of known people are not considered *bhuta*. *Pitam* are specific ancestral spirits; *pisaci* are ghosts, usually not specific of those who have died a violent death.' (*ibid*: Footnotes: p. 240)

Bermer and Koti Chennaya are worshipped together. In the worship of Baidyerlu, you do not find the usual elements associated with the *bhuta* worship: The impersonators of Baidyerlu do not wear halos; they do not put on the flowing 'skirts' made from young coconut fronds; there is no dance ritual prior to wearing beaded anklets—*gaggaradecchi*; the impersonators do not shout or roar; and there is no animal sacrifice. The worship of Baiderlu is a non-violent form of worship.

Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian, in *Tulunadua Garodigala Samskritika Adhyayana* have pointed out that although there are ample differences in the *nēma* ceremony of Baiderlu and the *kōla* ceremony of the punishing folk deities (*śikṣaka bhutas*)[5] and these differences have been acknowledged by the scholars, still there is a tendency to bind all the supernatural entities in the same thread of punishing folk deities. (1990: 97) They have also raised objections to the depiction of Koti Chennaya in Burnell's MSS in which Koti and Chennaya are shown putting on strange-looking caps rather than their usual bifurcated headgears, *chapparambu*. There is a need to examine whether *chapparambu* as the headgear of Koti Chennaya was in vogue at the time of Burnell (1882).[6] But the authors of the above book have pointed out that the bifurcated headgear as a part of the dress of Koti and Chennaya existed even before the time of Burnell. (*ibid*: 97)

Worship of Koti and Chennaya as a ritual-complex

The singing of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and dancing are the important features at a Baiderle festival. In the night-long festival, there are various types of dance. The ceremony starts in the evening and continues till the following morning. Kujumba Kanja, Mayada Mani Bale (Mayandal), and other folk deities also receive worship at a Baiderle festival. It is believed that Kujumba is the brother-in-law of Koti and Chennaya. Mani Bale is Kinnidaru. Is Kujumba Kanja, Payya Baidya? Similarly you need to examine whether Mani Bale is really Kinnidaru.

The presiding deity in the temples of Koti and Chennaya is Bermer. He is regarded as the family deity of Koti Chennaya. He receives *tambila* offering, and a service called *bali sēve*. The Baiderlu deities receive *agel* offering, and there is *nēma* festival in their honour. At the time of the festival of Baiderlu, the retinue deities located in the *garoḍi viz.*, Kodamanttaya, Kukkintaya, Ullakulu, Shivaraya, Panjurli, Babbarya, and Jogi Purusha are also worshipped. The worship of all these deities in a *garoḍi* can be called a *garoḍi*-ritual-complex.

Though Deyi Baidyedi is the mother of Koti Cheannaya and she dies prematurely, she does not seem to receive worship in all the *garoḍis*. Even their father, Kantanna Baidya is not worshipped. Though spirit worship is a form of ancestor worship, the father of a deified person is never worshipped among the ancestors of the deified person. Even the mother of the person does not receive worship along with his / her ancestors. Spirit worship is of course a form of worship in which along with the heroic persons, the elders of their families or ancestors are worshipped. But this form of ancestral worship is different from the Vedic form of ancestor worship.

In spirit worship, the conceptualization of the ancestor is very complex; but spirit worship itself is a complex phenomenon. The supernatural (deified or apotheosized) persons appear as the cultural representatives of some community. These persons fall within the worship motifs of that community, but not as members of a specific family. Of course you cannot

completely deny that they are not worshipped as the members of a family. Even if they are, they are worshipped as the deified persons at the local or the regional level. This is one of the distinguishing features of spirit worship. Most of the persons worshipped in a culture are not necessarily those who died prematurely, who committed suicide, or who were murdered. Not only that the culture of that community may not be the cause of his death. The death may be because of oppression, exploitation, and high-handedness of the dominant persons of that time. Most of the worship traditions seem to have started as a sort of temporary truce affected by the ruling or the upper class to douse the fire of opposition or revolt by a community at the lower rung of the hierarchy.

Another important aspect must be noted. There is no further development of the family of the person who meets with the tragic death. Even if there is development, development is unclear because the persons who start the worship of the person who has met with the tragic death are not from his / her family. In most cases, their worship is the result of collective consciousness. The worship of Koti and Chennaya follows the same pattern.

When we view the tragedy befallen on Koti and Chennaya, the death of Deyi Baidyedi or Kantanna Baidya does not appear to be very significant. Therefore, no mythology has grown around them for the purpose of receiving any worship. In the matriarchal family system, mother is given greater importance than father. Hence a mythology has developed about the birth of Deyi Baidyedi. You do not find such a mythology regarding Kantanna Baidya. But the mythology surrounding Deyi Baidyedi has not been translated into a worship tradition.

In the Koti Chennaya legend, Deyi Baidyedi gets importance just as mother to the twins. Developing a legend around the heroes and translating that legend into a worship tradition is the purpose as well as the motif of the Koti Chennaya legend. When a person of a higher caste meets a tragic death, no legend develops around the person, and he / she does not become the subject of any worship. The best example of this is the tragedy of Budyanta. It seems, after his death he becomes a *brahmarakshasa*; however, he does not get any importance and he does not receive worship. Recently a shrine of *brahmarakshasa* has been constructed near his purported residence. This shrine has not originated from the background of the original spirit worship tradition; instead, it is the result of the modern approach to religious observances. The trend shows the vibrancy and adaptability of the traditional spirit worship practices of the Tuluvas.

If the persons of high caste meet with tragic death, they get recognition in history as historical persons. Perhaps this is why Devu Punja, in spite of meeting with a tragic death, is not deified and does not receive any public worship. Queen Abbakka also suffered tragedies. She remains just a historical personality. The supernatural person, Agoli Manjana suffered the same fate.

The heroes and supernatural persons belonging to the lowest castes, when they meet with untimely death, are apotheosized or deified. Koddabbu, Koraga Taniya, Kalkuda,

Kallurti, and some others have attained divinity on the basis of the above motif (tragic death coupled with the low caste status).

Siri, Kumara, Sonne, Ginde, and Abbaga Dāraga of the Bunt community are worshipped; however, their worship takes a different form than the traditional spirit worship. Their worship is Siri worship, which falls outside the framework of spirit worship.

The heroes who die in tragic circumstances, for example those die in the battlefield, are worshipped at a later stage. Koti and Chennaya, who are supernatural individuals, get drawn into the internal fights among the Ballalas and they die as a result. They must have appeared in the dreams of the Ballalas. Then the Ballalas must have realized their mistakes and expressed their regret. It may be a motif that while he lay dying in the battle field, Koti requests the Ballala (Devanna Ballala) to establish a *garoḍi* in their memory. Whether this is what really happened in the battle is not important. A *garoḍi* was built for them (Koti Chennaya) because of the widespread sympathy for the heroes and also because of the admiration of the people for them.

Even Koti and Chennaya, who are worthy of worship, need to wash off their sin (of murder). After their death, in a state of illusion, they go to *badakayi gange* (the northern Ganges)[7] for a holy dip. Since they are prevented from going there, they go to the river, Kaveri; take a dip; and purify themselves. After they purify themselves, they join the retinue of Bermer in the Panja, Enmur, and Padumale Garodis. Then a tradition has developed according to which a three-day festival is organized in their honour.

According to the Koti Chennaya Paddana, a three-day festival for Koti and Chennaya was organized for the first time in the Panja Garodi on a full moon day in the month of *Suggi* (March / April). Since then the tradition has continued.

During the three-day festival at the Panja Garodi, the festival of the royal deities (*rajan daiva*) takes place on the first day. On the third day, the images of Koti and Chennaya are drawn in front of the shrine of Bermer, and a lamp is lighted. The impersonators of Koti and Chennaya put on seven-branch headgears.[8] In the presence of the Ballala and the members of the four *guttu* houses, the impersonators are presented with swords. Then the traditional musicians play music and the impersonators dance to the tune of the music.

The ritual of making Koti and Chennaya (rather their imperonators) descend to the courtyard of the Panja Garodi and then to the paddy field called the 'field of battle' (*kolalada kaṇḍa*) in a procession is symbolically called 'the original Per Permodi Garadi of Panja'. It means that Per Permodi Garadi and other *garodis* (gymnasiums) were in existence before Koti and Chennaya attained divinity. It is said that Koti and Chennaya were trained in combat skills in these gymnasiums. *Garadis* were the centres of military training. Gradually they lost their prominence as training centres. After the worship of Koti Chennaya became popular, these centres became places of worship. It is important to find out when the *garadis*, which were the centres of military training, became village temples. However, this

transformation must have taken place when the need for training in gymnastics became less important in the changed social conditions.

Notes

1. Naranappa (Kumaravyasa), the famous poet of the 15th century, in his *Karṇāta Bhārata Kathāmanjari*, has called the different chapters of his book as *sandhis*. (See Kuvempu and Masti, 1974)
2. One of my informants informs me that the wild boar which the Ballala (Parmale Ballala) had hunted unsuccessfully was the same boar hunted by the twins. This shows the heroism of the twins.
3. Instead of saying that the survival of a hero depends on his legs, it is better to say that by creating helplessness, the prowess of a hero is depleted and his ability to fight is interfered with. When a hero loses a hand, or a leg, he loses his ability to fight. For this reason alone, the hands of Abhimanyu were severed. In birds, their wings are the source of their strength. Jatayu was killed when his wings were cut off by cutting off one of its wings by Ravana. The well-known sculptor, courageous Kalkuda sculpted the famous colossus, Gomateshvara of Karkala. However, one hand and one leg of the sculptor were chopped off so that he should not sculpt another Gomateshvara statue.
4. There are many such instances in spirit worship. The idols or busts of the persons who were killed or who died are installed, and worshipped. At the time of the annual festival at the Arasu Manjishnar *mada (mada*, a shrine) of Manjeshvara - Udyavara, a bust supposed to be that of Koch Malli is displayed.
5. In the sphere of spirit worship, folk spirits are supposed to possess two opposing traits: punishment and protection. They are believed to protect those who believe in them and punish those they (spirits) are angry with. Because of these contrasting attributes, a folk deity is compared to a watchdog.
6. The manuscripts of Burnell were published in a series of articles, beginning from 1894. Burnell died in 1882. Therefore, his studies were conducted much before 1882.
7. In the Lekkesiri Pāḍdana and the *pāḍdanas* of many other folk deities, the boundary of Tulunadu is described as:

Badakkāyi gangēḍd	From the Ganges of the north
Tenkāyi malyala muṭṭa	Till Malyāla (Kerala) to the south
Kāyiri gaṭṭṭṭōḍd	From the Kāyiri hills
Nuguru poyya muṭṭa	Till the fine sands (of the seashore)

Here *gangēḍd* means till *gange*; *badakkāyi gange* must be the Gangolli river and *tenkāyi tīrta* must be Talakaveri. If *badakkāyi gange* is the Gangolli river, what is the cause of her sacredness?

8. The seven-branch headgear is a part of the dress associated with the Baiderlu and the Mugērlu folk deities. Earlier the headgears used to be made from the dry areca spathes; now they are made of brass or silver. Even the folk deity, Saramamkali has a seven-branch headgear as the part of the costume.

CHAPTER 3

KOTI CHENNAYA PĀḌDANA: AS AN ORAL EPIC

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana as a form of folk literature

According to Robert Caldwell (1856), 'Among the Dravidian family of languages, Tulu is an independent and highly developed language.'

In the oral traditions of the Tulu language, we can identify the following forms: *kathe, pāḍdana, kabita, hāḍu, gāde, edur kathe, ural,* and *shishu prāsa.* Among these, only *pāḍdanas* have greater variety and range, and they are sung extensively in different contexts. Govinda Pai says that *pāḍdanas* are a form of poetic prose (1947: 50). Rhyme, simple construction, suitable meter and the musical quality are the main features of a *pāḍdana.*

In most of the Dravidian languages, the root, *pāḍ, pāṭ,* or *pār* means 'to sing'. (Burrow T and Emeneau: 1961: 272) It seems the word *pāḍdana* is derived from the root, *pāḍ,* or *pāṭ.* (B. A. Vivek Rai: 1985 a: 27 – 29) Ballad, *lāvani* and *pāḍdana* more or less belong to the same genre. 'Some of the *pāḍdanas* progress beyond ballads and become epics.' (*ibid*: 27 – 29)

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana can be classified as a Tulu epic. The cultural heroes who die prematurely fighting in a battle naturally earn sympathy and honour, and become worthy of worship. Spirit worship is rooted in ancestor worship. Tulu oral verses, like the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, narrate the story of heroes and heroines. They also depict the class struggle of that era.

Pāḍdanas narrate tragic incidents, and this kind of narration is not generally found in other poetic compositions of India. The Koti Chennaya Paddana narrates how two heroes who belonged to the Billava caste are maḍe to feel unwanted by the social milieu of their time. This social rejection was because of the attitude of superiority tinged with jealousy exhibited by the members of higher castes. Koti and Chennaya revolted against these forces since they could not tolerate the insult and humiliation heaped on them.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and its style

The narrators and the protagonists of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana are Koti and Chennaya themselves. There is a need to clarify the purpose behind this technique. It is possible for individuals to narrate the story of their life when they are alive. In the old age, they may ruminate on their experiences, achievements and the heroic deeds, and may tell their story to others. In the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, the twin brothers narrate the story of their lives to themselves in the form of a conversation: Sometimes the elder brother Koti tells the story to his younger brother Chennaya and vice versa. The conversation does not seem to begin at any particular stage; they narrate the events that happened even before they were born.

They retrace the path they have traversed and they go on recounting their further achievements. When we look closely at the Koti Chennaya legend, you would find that Koti and Chennaya remain together throughout their lives. There are no instances when they are separated from each other. At the same time, we could also say that there are no instances when they stay with others for long. They play the *chendu* game together; go for the gymnastic training together; they cultivate the *kambula* field together; do toddy tapping together; kill Budyanta together; wander in the Panja territory together; and fight the battle together. In other words, from the beginning to the end, they appear as two inseparable members of the society. They remain together. Of course it is quite possible that they were troubled by their loneliness. Therefore, perhaps to beat loneliness, they share their experiences of each stage of their life. In all probability this is what must have happened.

After leaving Parmale, Koti and Chennaya reach the Panja province, and to rest, they sit under a banyan tree. They discuss the earlier events and decide what they should be doing thereafter. Thus, the entire Koti Chennaya story is in the form of a dialogue between two brothers.

The interesting thing is that even after death, they continue to narrate their own story to each other. They narrate the episode of the Ballala establishing a *garoḍi* for them and their worship in the *garoḍi*, their journey to the *badagu gange*, their encounter with Kantabare-Budabare at Surtakal; intervention of Goddess Durgaparameshvari of Bappanad and settling the dispute between them and Kantabare-Budabare; their journey to Talakaveri where they purify themselves taking a holy dip; and finally they joining Bermer as the retinue deities of Bermer.

It is obviously not possible for an individual to narrate the events that take place after his death. However the narrators of the *pāḍdanas* make us believe that the characters in the *pāḍdanas* themselves are telling their own stories. The narrators make the characters continue their story even after their death. If we regard Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana a play, the directors of the play are the singers of the *pāḍdana*. In the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, there are only two characters: Koti and Chennaya, and they narrate their own life-story in the form of a narrative poem.

At the time of the annual worship of a folk deity, the story of the birth, heroism, and diffusion of the deity is narrated. But at the annual festival of Koti Chennaya, the story of their birth, achievements, and valour is presented differently as a conversation between the two brothers, and also through acting out their roles by the impersonators.

The oral compositions like the *pāḍdanas* have been preserved for generations by some unlettered groups of persons. There is a feeling that the folk epics, like the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana must have been composed by one person. It is possible that in the passage of time the original poet[1] is forgotten. When an oral composition is transmitted from one generation to another by word of mouth, it undergoes changes. Then it gets the stamp of the community and takes the shape of a popular song. J.S. Paramashivaiah. (1971: 14) mentions that the same progression can be observed in the Kannada *lāvani* compositions as well.

When an oral composition attains popularity, the singers of the composition popularize it further by singing it in public. The Tulu oral traditions are thus sung at the time of possession ritual, and sung as field songs in the paddy fields.

Oral legends were thought to be unchangeable fossils, and it was believed that the singers recalled the oral compositions from memory and recited them depending on the context.

Some studies have changed this perception. An oral composition never remains static; it undergoes changes from time to time. The Parry-Lord[2] principle or the Oral Formulaic theory (1960) has brought out this aspect in detail. Do singers of a *pāḍdana* sing the *pāḍdana* by recalling it from their memory? Experienced *pāḍdana* singers can sing many *pāḍdanas*. How do they remember so many *pāḍdanas*? Is it humanly possible? The oral formulaic theory tries to answer these questions.

Oral formulaic theory

The oral formulaic theory suggests that singers of an oral composition never admit that they have learnt the song by rote. They say that at every stage they modify the oral composition on the basis of the definite formulae that they employ. They are natural artists. They are composers, singers, managers, and poets—all at the same time. Composing, singing, and managing the show are the three aspects of the same action. The manager is a tradition-carrier, who carries the currently prevalent traditions. He / she is also the creator of the traditions. This is the distinct relationship between a show and the showman. For a singer, every recitation, show, or rendition is a creative process.

There are differences between writing a poem and its recitation. In the case of an oral composition, its presentation itself is the process of its composition. In a sense it is an extempore creation. In a folk drama, the singer-director is required to sing the songs of different episodes. He does not sing from a text composed by a poet. He composes the songs on the spot depending on the situation using a ready-made framework. The singing by a singer-director[3] is similar to the recitation of an oral composition.

The formulaic principles of oral composition

The Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana sung by Monte Gowda and Veerappa Gowda is of approximately of 24 hours duration. They employ many formulaic or idiomatic expressions, which they repeat many a time. Some of these idiomatic expressions are:

- *Kēmpulada maleṭ kemmaṭe kariyaṭ* (on Kempulatta hill near a bathing ghat)
- *Inevulla pakkilu* (a pair of birds inseparable from each other)
- *Gobbonu sorkonu* (playing and excited)
- *Kūṭu kuṭuma* (a consanguineous family)
- *Ēlade emagunḍa* (a fortified shrine with seven enclosures)
- *Sinte buḍyer* (starts worrying)
- *kangālāyer kaḍekaṇṇḍ koḍidukka banjiḍ yama kāvēri* (becomes disoriented, sheds tears from the corners of the eyes, and feels intense heat in the stomach)
- *Ayyoyyo pāpane ulovolo dōsone* (what a sin! what a stigma!)
- *Sankamale rāviḍ īnd īsald mūrte* (under the intense heat of the Sankamale hill, drawing toddy from toddy and wild date palms)
- *Ajipa punḍi jātaka muppa punḍi granto, sāvira punḍi sāriyo* (sixty fistfuls of almanac, thirty fistfuls of treatises and a thousand fistfuls of cowry shells)
- *Kariya kadroḷi maṇe* (a black divining board of the *kadra* plant)
- *Occhana gunḍi occhader* (in the deep waters where fishing was never done, he ordered fishing)
- *Dērana kāḍ dērader* (the forest in which hunting was never done, he ordered hunting)
- *Ēḷ ginḍe kōpa* (he got anger that could be filled in seven pots)
- *Kanchina bīga menchina tarkol* (the brass lock and the shinning keys)
- *Benne basarulla panekoṭṭu* (a small spade made in Basrur)
- *Genda sārena padma kaṭṭe* (a beautiful platform around a red coconut palm)
- *Bolpuda pērganji* (the gruel cooked in coconut milk for the morning meal)
- *Maddenada dombuda nidre* (because of heat, a nap in afternoon)
- *Gūr kaṭṭina gujji taḍame* (a gate of short wooden stumps)

Milman termed the above stock idiomatic expressions, the Parry Formulae. According to him, 'A formulaic expression is a group of words. It is used constantly at definite places while narrating any important aspect of the story.' (Parry: 1930: pp. 41 – 80)

Some of the formulaic expressions employed by Monte Gowda and Veerappa Gowda while singing *paddanas*:

1. *Sikka sāvaḍi sitra manṭame*—refers to a small veranda or porch in front of a house. It is an enclosure. Here the head of the household exchanges pleasantries with the visitors. It is the place where discussion on important matters of the household takes place. In the Monte Gowda's rendition this stock expression occurs seventeen times.

2. *Kēmpulada maleṭ kemmate kariyad, jayalla Bermer*[4] –is repeated more than seven times.
3. *Genda sārena padma kaṭṭe*—appears more than seven times.
4. *Sankamale rāviḍ īnd īsald mūrte*—occurs more than seven times.

Sometimes formulaic expressions are almost sentences: When a person visits a village house, he would find a fence with a gate of wooden stumps and the stumps are deeply embedded in the soil; a stranger can come up to the gate; to enter the house, he needs the consent of the owner; and the visitor calls out the name of owner, thrice. This kind of description you get when Budu Bommaya goes to the house of Deyi Baidyedi to request her to come to the manor house, or when Koti and Chennaya go to the house of Payya Baidya.

When the owner of the house is called, his / her response is beautifully described in the *paddanas* as follows:

'*Okkorogu mūji dani lett bāminaga*[5] / *onjekk ōngarit raḍekk vivaritonu* / *mūjane danikk sadukku sadu sorokku sora daniyē koronu ini baruver*' (he or she is called three times, says O at the first call; asks for details at the second call; and replies to the third call; and the person comes out of the house).

The preceding stock phrases are found in the description of the visit to the house of the soothsayer, Matti Bira Ballaya; Bommaya; Deyi Baidedi; and Kinnidaru.

There is a stock description of safekeeping of ornaments and how they are taken out of the case in which they are kept: '*Kanchina bīga menchina tarkolu bīga mudrike oḍ etter bāyi bandolige pārād sēr boḷḷi tūkalla bangār detter*' (using the shining keys, the brass lock is unlocked; the security of the ornament box is set aside; one seer of silver and one measure of gold are taken out).

There is a colourful description of a day's activities of a Ballala:

Bolpuda pērganji bāmid maddenada dombina nidreg āneda mēlḍ kudre saukoḍu tūkina ujjāl parengi manṭameḍ kalembi gaddigeḍ oḍḍoyt ōlaga ātero, kaḍe kaṇṇḍo koḍi nidrene būrnaga (after taking the morning meal of rice cooked in the coconut milk, on account of the afternoon heat, he is resting on a soft cushion placed on a bedstead and the bedstead is kept in a swing. The swing is on a huge horse-shaped base. He feels sleepy in the corner of his eyes, and sleeps).

The above description of a luxurious sleeping arrangement is found while describing the sleeping arrangement of a ruler (Ballala); the minister of a Ballala; soothsayer, Ballaya; dog-keeper, Mallodi[6] and the barber.

Waking up a person from sleep seems to be an unforgiveable offence. If the head of the household is asleep and somebody comes with an urgent message, there is an elaborate method of waking him up. The wife of the head of the family has to wake him up; but she is afraid because she fears that he would get angry when he wakes up. The messenger is ready with a solution to meet such an eventuality: '*Boḷḷina sirigiṇḍyaḍ nīr pattlappe;*

nāgadarbeda kaḍḍi pāḍd kāratirt untulappe, tareḍd kār muṭṭa nīr pāḍ menile' (O mother, hold a silver pot with a snout and fill water in the pot, put some twigs of holy grass, stand near his feet, and sprinkle water on him from toes to the head, and thus, wake him up).

Alternatively, '*Bangārda giṇḍyaḍ nīr pattlappe tāremittt untudu kārḍd tare muṭṭa nīr pāḍ menilappe*' (O mother, hold a golden pot filled with water, stand near his head, and sprinkle water on him from head to toes, and thus, wake him up).

Even after following the set ritual, it is not that he would not get angry. He would still get terribly angry, and shout, 'Who has woken me up?'

At a festival of Koti Chennaya, Babu Parava (1990), one of the accomplished *Bhuta* artistes, has narrated the birth of Bermer in the following manner, using the standard formulaic expressions:

Bermer puṭṭi	The place of the birth of Bermer
Ādēso unḍo	Is there in that country
Ā Bermer Periya	That great Bermer
Vāriyināli	That consciousness
Ā ballāḷ puṭṭi	The place of the birth of Ballala
Ādēso unḍo	Is there in that country
Ballalaperiya	The great Ballala is there
Sāntomiye	In peace
āvōri gange	The great rivers
Nīr gange	A water river
Ā pēr gange	A milk river
Ā uppi gange	A salt water river
Ā urila gange	A hot water river
Ā ēḷ gange	Thus, seven rivers
Nāl samudra	Four oceans
Eḷ sarpe	Seven serpents
Unḍāvonḍe	Has created)
Eḷ kallda gunḍone unḍu	Inside the shrine of seven stones, there is
Kanchila gunḍa	A shrine of brass
Kalla eramaneṭ	In a stone palace
Bermeryē	That Bermer
Udipana bender	Comes into existence
Kempulatta	In Kempulatta hill
Jayamulla	The merciful
Bermeryē	Bermer—
Tāredāt tōroḍude	As big as a coconut tree

Sattigedād	As a parasol
Ageloḍuge	That broad
Ā ōnṭedāt	As a reed
Sapuroḍu	That thin
Kangdāt	As an areca tree
Uddoḍude	That long
Udipanada	Is created
Bermeryē	That Bermer
Āudyā bender	Emerges
Udipanāyer	Manifests himself

If you are talking about singers memorizing the *pāḍḍanas* and singing them, you are really referring to the formulaic utterances. A singer remembers the formulaic expressions, and weaves the episodes of a *pāḍḍana* into a song on the spot, depending on the context, using these expressions. Along with the basic framework of the story, the singer possesses a stock of the formulaic expressions.

Peter J. Claus (1987: 17–18; 1991: 7) makes the following observation regarding the formulaic expressions used by the *pāḍḍana* singers:

'A singer's repertoire of formulae is like a box of stock phrases from which the singer draws phrases, lines, stanzas and even episodes, some of which are already in part adapted to the *pāḍḍana* she is singing and some of which exist independent of it. By and large, this "box" of stock phrases belongs to the performance tradition, not to any particular *pāḍḍana*. The phrases, lines and episodes are shared amongst many *pāḍḍanas*.'

The form of an oral composition is determined by the melody, rhythm, meter, length of the lines, and the style of presentation. The form and style of a *pāḍḍana* vary depending on the local and the presentation traditions. In the field song tradition, you do not find much variations in a particular region in the style of singing of a *pāḍḍana*. If we take the example of singing the *sandi* (episode) on Kenjava birds by Koragappa Poojary, or Dangu Panara, or Monte Gowda or Ramakka Poojarthi, his or her style of singing is not the same. Regionally, these singers are from different villages.

Creating a definite flow or rhythm for the singers is very important. As they sing some lines, that include a repetitive group of sound units, *ḍennāna deṇa deṇa*, they refine their voice. You could say that the sound units, *ḍennāna deṇa deṇa* constitute a definite tune. It is possible to illustrate sound variations or the places of refrain when *pāḍḍanas* are sung:

The rhythmic sound units *dēnna ḍenna* are synchronized to the beating of a small drum, *tembare*. Many a time a *pāḍḍana*, which is supposed to be sung to the beating of the *tembare*, is synchronized into the *sandi* style as it is sung. When the beginning lines are not synchronized, the singer stops singing, saying his 'voice is not proper' and then continues.

TABLE 1
The Tuning sounds or the places of refrain

Address of the singer	Year of singing	Context or the story	Places of refrain
1. Korgappa Poojary, Kasargod district Parlari house, Agadi Moger	1988	1 Kenjava Pakkile sandi	ôenna ḍennā ... ḍena ḍennā ḍena ō ḍena... ō ḍennā ḍennā ... ā
		2. While carrying the offering to Sun God	ōena ḍenna ḍennana ḍenna ḍennāna ḍenna ḍēna ḍenna ḍēna oye ḍenna ḍennā...
		3. The Brahmin giving the lemon to his wife	ōēna ḍennana ḍenna ō ḍena ē ā...
		4. Taking care of the baby found in the rice vessel	ōēna ḍennana ḍēna ḍenna ḍennana ḍenannā ḍennā ā...
		5. Asking the consent of their uncle to go for gymnastic training	Â ... ē ... ō ... ḍ ē n a ḍennana ḍenna ō ḍenā ḍennanayō ā...
		6. Sending Koti Chennaya for drawing toddy	ōēna ḍennano denna oya ḍenna ḍennāō ḍennāō ā...
2. Dangu Panara, Chippu Panara Kajara Guttu, Hiriyadka, Udupi Taluk	1989	1. Kenjava Pakkile sandi	ōenna ḍenna ḍena ḍenna ḍenaē ḍenna ḍenna ḍenna ḍenaē ḍenna ḍenaē...
		2 Pejanara sandi	ōenna ḍenna ḍena ḍenna ḍenna ḍenna ḍenna ḍenna ḍenna ḍenna ḍenna ḍenna ḍenaē
3. Monte Gowda Irappa Gowda. Pudubettu, Beltangadi Taluk	1989	1. Kenjava Pakkile sandi 2. Sayana Baidya marrying off Deyi	ōenna ḍenna ḍennao ḍennayō ā...ē ḍenna ḍenna ḍennāna ḍenna ā...

		ōenna ḍennana ḍenna ḍenaē...ā..ē...ō...ā...
	3. Wife of Budyanta complaining to the Ballala	ōenna ḍenna ḍennana oya ḍenna ḍennana ō...
	4 When Payya Baidya sees Koti Chennaya in his house, he runs away	ōenna ḍenna ḍenana ḍenna oya ḍenna ḍennana ā...ē... ḍena ḍenna ḍennaō ḍennana ḍenna ḍenna ā...ē...
	5. Bommaya going to the house of Ballaya and calling out to him	ōenna ḍennana ḍenne ḍennavo ḍennana ḍennayō
	6. When entering Panja from Parmale	ōenna ḍennana ḍennana ḍenna oya ḍennana ā...ē...
4. Ramakka Poojarthi, Bolya, Batyadadi, Mangalore Taluk	1. Kenjava Pakkile sandi	Ō ḍennana ḍennana ḍenna ḍenna ḍennana ḍennāna ḍennana ḍennana ḍennana ō yē...
1990	2. Pejanara sandi	Ō ḍennana ḍennana ḍenna ḍenna ḍennana ḍennāna ḍennana
	3. Budyanta sandi	ōenna ḍennana ḍēna ḍenna ḍennayō ḍennānindō

The values inherent in the Koti Chennaya legend

Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana is a model of Tulu culture. It can be an example for the study of the rich Tulu culture. It lays down a conceptual framework to understand the social and religious traditions of Tulunadu. No other form of Tulu folklore reflects the culture of Tulunadu as the Koti Chennaya Paddana does.

Most of the *pāḍḍanas* are verse tales and are related to worship traditions. Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana tells us the tragic story of two heroes, and gives a complete picture of the culture of Tulunadu. Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana defends certain values; but, not all the values articulated by it may be applicable to modern times: Some have changed, some are no longer relevant, and some have survived.

Pāḍḍanas are verse tales; therefore, it is quite natural that certain imaginary elements are grafted into the tales, and the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana is no exception.

The story of the Kenjava birds can be examined in this context. If you want to understand the idea that the origin of the entire universe is because of the Kenjava birds, you need to move very far into the theory of evolution. For that you need a separate framework. The society does not accept a brother and a sister becoming wife and husband even in the case of birds. Therefore, there is a need to seek a cover of divine approval. In the beginning of the story, you get a real picture of the birds playing as brother and sister in their infancy. But when they grow up, they do not want to remain together as brother and sister. The story does depict some of the stages of in human development. As an individual grows, his / hers desires and interests change. The story of the Kenjava birds portrays the real picture of how the desires and interests of an individual change as he or she grows.

The motif to become husband and wife to get progeny as expressed by a pair of birds is found in the other oral legends of Tulunadu. The Panjurli folk deities are a symbol of the origin of the Tuluva worship tradition. They were brother and sister in their childhood (B.A. Vivek Rai: 1985 a: 39 – 51) The above motif finds expression in the stories of *Bāle* fish and Mugudu fish. (B.A. Vivek Rai: 1985 a: 364 – 8; Bilimale: 1990: 52 – 71) The royal symbol of the Alupa royal family—the most ancient royal family that ruled Tulunadu—was a fish. (Bilimale: 42)

The *pāḍḍanas* like the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana not only describe the background of a religious tradition, they also inform us a distinct philosophy behind the caste system of that time. *Pāḍḍanas* clearly describe that the culture of the higher castes was regarded superior to the culture of lower castes. Perhaps it may be because of the existence of the Vedic tradition and the local worship traditions side by side in the worship practices of the Tuluvas. The Vedic influence can be noticed in most of the *pāḍḍanas*. While accepting a hero or a saint from a lower caste by the higher castes, you can see a widespread tendency to create stories to invest sacredness to his / her birth. Only those who are believed to have taken birth by the grace of Brahma were accepted as heroes. The glorification of the birth of Deyi Baidyedi is largely because of this reason.

Deyi wanted to avenge the insult heaped on her by Budyanta. She tells Budyanta that her children would take care of the insults that he heaped on her. Probably the pregnant Deyi was expecting to get more than one child. This is some sort of mythological implication here. (In Mahabharata) Abhimanyu is supposed to have heard the story narrated to his mother Subhadra by Lord Krishna. Perhaps the unborn twins in the womb of Deyi have heard the insults and insinuations hurled at her by Budyanta. Therefore the seeds of revenge must have sprouted even before Koti and Chennaya were born.

When it comes to human suffering, the caste restrictions seem to recede to the background. To save the life of Ballala, Deyi enters the manor house of the Ballala and treats him. She saves his life, and she is akin to a mother for the Ballala. She becomes worthy of honour. She gets the reward for her service; the Ballala instructs the ladies of the manor house to present her: *eṇṇevōle*, *esal buguḍi*, *mullu koppu*, *pacche kallada mūkudi* (the names of the different traditional Tuluva ornaments), and *paṭṭeda rāki* (a silk blouse).

A person may find it difficult to confront helplessness and injustice that he is subjected to in a system. However, after he dies and attains divinity, he gets the power and strength to fight the system. At the same time those who were responsible for his death start worshipping him to save their skin. This kind of principle is reflected in the Koti Chennaya story. The principle brings into focus the practicality of hammering out some sort of social compromise by taking into confidence even the bitterest enemies. Such practical social compromises do take place even in present times.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana as a folk epic

What is a folk epic? Why is Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana an epic?

Blackburn *et al* (1986: 2–3) have mentioned the following characteristics of a folk epic:

'Epic is narrative, it is poetic and it is heroic; an epic tells a story.'

They further state,

'In India or elsewhere, the heroism of a folk epic touches the human and extra-human dimensions. In between these dimensions there is a level of progression.' (Blackburn *et al*: 1989: 4)

According to Oinas (1972: 99), 'Folk (or oral) epic songs are narrative poems in formulaic and ornamental style dealing with adventure or extraordinary people.'

According to Beck (1982: 19), 'The heroes of the folk epics always attain divinity after their death. After being deified, they cross the human and the divine boundaries.'

As averred by scholars, Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana has all the characteristics of a folk epic: there is a narrative, there is a poem, and there is heroism.

As stated by Blackburn (1984), diversity in the depiction of heroism in the Indian folk epics is important in the context of the relationship between the way heroism is depicted in the folk epics and the social and performance contexts of the folk epics.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana narrates the worldly and the supernatural events connected with the life of the twin warriors. The Koti Chennaya legend is a legend of struggle and sacrifice. You could also recognize another feature of a folk epic—a miracle cycle. Rama Devakavya of Rajasthan, Madevara Kavya of Karnataka, and Ellamma of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka can be termed as the *epics of miracle cycle*. They can be called *mythic epics*, the term introduced by Jason (1977: 30 – 32, 53). The songs of struggle and the songs of sacrifice belong to the same type since both the types are related to heroism, social obligations, and social institutions. These songs articulate certain values: revenge taking back a lost kingdom, or reclaiming certain rights.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana also possesses the special attribute—a miracle cycle.

An oral composition may tell a story, may be suitable for singing, and may depict heroism. There is a special characteristic of the Indian epics that takes them to a higher plane: An Indian folk epic fosters a relationship between the community that specializes in singing the epic and performing the events depicted in the epic, and the audience. In many parts of India, such epics are called *our stories*. (Blackburn *et al*: 1989: 6)

Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana is both a mythological and historical epic. It is an epic of struggle and sacrifice. The epics of struggle are close to the historical epics. (Blackburn: 1989: 5) Some of the scholars who worked on the oral epics of India have termed the epics associated with struggle and sacrifice as historical epics. From this angle, we may examine whether the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana could be classified as a historical epic. It is possible to relate the main elements and the characters of a historical epic with the historical events and the important personalities of that time. (*ibid*: 5) The studies on Koti and Chennaya indicate that they must have appeared on the historical horizon some 400 years back with their acts of heroism and uncompromising demeanour.

Voice of protest and dissent in the Koti Chennaya epic

When we scrutinize the history of literature in the context of human history, the differences between the nature of poems that originated in the aboriginal societies and the poems composed by the class-driven societies become very clear. If we dig into the causes that mediated the differences, we would find that these differences were not merely connected to the preferences and aversions of some individuals; instead they arose from the historical background of that period. In the aboriginal societies songs were developed as a part of life, as the symbols of the collective will of the people. When man struggles against nature, his success or failure may provide motivation to venture into the path of poetic creation. The compositions thus created were the collective voice of the community.

After gaining control over some of the natural forces, man ceased to be a wanderer, and to earn his living, he developed many life-sustaining occupations like agriculture. In the process, division of labour made its appearance, and division of labour led to the division of the society into classes. The classless aboriginal society was thus turned upside down.

When one class becomes a competitor to another, conflict arises. This leads to further division of the society into: winners and losers, servants and masters, rulers and the ruled, and serfs and lords. People who had enjoyed equality in the cultural sphere—art and literature—lost their equality. The values of life and the meaning and interpretation of culture took a different form. The person who was labelled as a serf did not enjoy freedom even to live his own life. A different culture developed around the persons who emerged as masters in the backyard of serfdom. There are many documentary songs and works of art that provide evidence to the prevalence of slavery in our country.

In Rome and Greek, the contributions of slavery were more substantial; agriculture and industries were developed because of slavery. The benefits of production went to the ruling class. Workers were exploited. In this context, Veeranna C. (1981: 3) offers the following comments:

'As a result of the invention of the ruling class, the mythological epics which were the collective possession of a community took the form of religious dramas. Ancient epics of all the countries have originated by employing the treasure of the collective vision of the people. Although the main motif of these epics was to defend the ruling class, it became unavoidable to reflect on the creative powers of the society of that era as represented by the majority of the population.'

The culture of dominance articulated by kings and emperors, chieftains and petty rulers can be noticed throughout the history of this country (India). In the *zamindari* system, the voice of the common people against oppression and exploitation had no value whatsoever, and yet they did not remain without being voiced in some form or the other. The original voice of the Tulu oral legends is the voice of protest against the local chieftaincy. This is what we discover when we analyse these legends. The folk epic, Koti Chennaya is such a voice—the voice of protest against the ruling class of their time. Instead of accepting this as a proven truth, I have laboured to provide proof in support of the above assertion. For this purpose I have used many versions of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana.

At a time when the caste system was well entrenched in the society, the Koti Chennaya legend was woven around the ruling Ballala families which were at loggerheads with one another. During that period, the Billava community was at a lower rung in the caste hierarchy. Koti Chennaya were the twin brothers who belonged to the Ḅillava community. With a closer look at the literature that has grown around them, you would discover that the expression of protest is the main element in these literary works.

The tendency by the ruling classes to look down upon the groups working under them has continued as a tradition. Once upon a time, the powerless and the exploited had no freedom to fight for their rights directly. Therefore, the inner turmoil of the downtrodden remained suppressed for long. Ordinary people spent their life catering to the aggressive tendencies of their masters and helping them in their conquests. The ordinary people were excluded from the social and the economic facilities. They were denied of opportunities to

acquire knowledge and position in the society. The powerless and the defenceless were deprived of social justice, security, and equality. And hence they came to be called backward people and untouchables. The struggle of the people, who were rejected and insulted by the powerful, found expression in the form of stories depicting their misery and degradation.

Generally you find the motif of protest and struggle in folk literature. Most of the Tulu oral legends tell stories of the silent sufferings of the lowest communities of Tulunadu. In other words, there is a tendency to express one's unhappiness in the form of oral legends.

Veeranna C. (1981: 21 - 2) offers the following comments on the nature of folk songs:

'When you analyse the hopes and aspirations expressed in the folk songs, you get the record of the life of a people who lived pursuing the activities, thought to be of primary importance to their community. The folk songs narrate the thoughts of the ordinary people regarding their life situations, provide the record of the class conflict they were subjected to and their inclination to extend constant support to the toiling masses. Folklore is a double-edged sword. In the folklore you can find not only the expression of hopes and aspirations of the ordinary people, but you also get ample traditional ideas that were used to keep them in bondage in the first place.'

Many a time folklore reflects the wickedness and selfishness of the ruling elite and the wealthy—sometimes directly, and sometimes symbolically, through dreams. Fighting for their rights became unavoidable for those who were rejected and discarded by the society. Their protest was meant to usher in social justice.

Koti Chennaya folk epic conveys the message of protest against social rejection. The twins become victims of rejection by the way their birth takes place. The story of their birth goes back by a generation. The Kenjava birds are the symbolic progenitors of Koti and Chennaya. An egg laid by the female Kenjava bird becomes the remote cause that led to the birth of Koti and Chennaya.

The process of rejection is manifest when the female Kenjava bird becomes pregnant. According to one version of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, when she becomes pregnant she takes a vow to offer an egg she lays to God Suryanarayana. She lays three eggs. The Kenjava couple carries the first egg and the last egg to offer to God Suryanarayana. He subjects the eggs to tests. An elephant is made to trample over one of the eggs, but the egg does not break; and the other egg is put on the passage where an army column was marching ahead, and nothing happens to the egg. God Suryanarayana returns both the eggs to the couple as a holy gift. From one of the eggs, Yekana Saler takes birth, and from the other, Ginde Giliramu Deyyar. Later, they get married and beget two children, Bamalla Kumara, who becomes Bermer afterwards, and Parmale Ballala. (Burnell: 1894: 168 – 178)

The second egg falls into the sea. A Brahmin gets the egg as a lemon when he has gone for a bath in the sea on a new moon day. A baby girl takes birth from this egg. As stated earlier, she is renamed as Deyi and assimilated as a member of the Billava community. (*ibid*: 168, 178)

We could notice how the antagonistic forces—acceptance and rejection—are at work. The birth of Bermer and Parmale Ballala is glorified, and they are accepted in the society. Rejection is at work in the birth of Deyi.

The birth of a great person is symbolically suggested even before his birth. The eggs that are responsible for the birth of Bermer and Parmale Ballala remain unharmed when they are put to test, and they are accepted. Since the egg responsible for the birth of Deyi suffers rejection, it falls into the sea. However, a Brahmin accepts it. The girl born from this egg suffers rejection from the hands of the Brahmin couple; but she is accepted by Sayana Baidya. In other words, acceptance of Koti Chennaya is the result of rejecting the rejection *i.e.*, they (Koti Chennaya) are the fruits of rejection.

According to another version of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana (Koragappa Poojary: 1988), the female Kenjava bird lays two eggs. When she goes to hunt for food, she keeps the eggs under the care of the male bird. The male bird takes out one of the eggs and offers it to God Narayana. When the female bird returns, she finds only one egg in the nest and gets angry. She damages the nest. This incident symbolically brings out the relationship between husband and wife and shows how a wife reacts when her husband takes a decision without consulting her.

The egg that falls from the nest when the female bird damages it is the egg that the Brahmin gets. He gets it in the form of a lemon. The possibility of a fisherman or a boatman getting the egg is high. If they were to get the egg, it would not have been an extraordinary event that could have got public attention. Since a Brahmin gets the egg, it gets a tinge of sacredness. A Brahmin, in spite of knowing mystical incantations and magical practices, would not have accepted a thing that seemed to be an egg. Therefore the egg has to be transformed into a lemon. Thus, the egg is purified. The egg that falls into the sea or Ramasamudra, does not suffer any damage in spite of being exposed to the vagaries of nature. It remains unharmed and is finally accepted as a lemon. Surviving in the face of adverse conditions implies protest and struggle, though protest and struggle are not explicitly expressed.

As stated earlier, the fully pregnant Deyi enters the manor house of the Ballala and treats him. The members of the higher castes feel defiled by her entry into the manor house. Further she receives presents from the Ballala, which also adds to the fury of the upper caste members.

After successfully treating the Ballala, she prepares to go home. As she walks by the ridge of the *kambula* field, she experiences labour pains. Just then Budyanta comesby the same ridge. He thinks that she is purposely blocking his way. He insults her. She replies, 'If you feel that I am intentionally blocking your way, God would judge my action. Since I am standing here because of my problem, my children would give you a befitting reply for insulting me.'

Here is an example how the persons belonging to the higher castes used to treat people

of the lower castes. Deyi's reply to Budyanta symbolically hints at a revolt against this kind of treatment.

When mother of Koti and Chennaya dies, the Ballala makes the arrangement in his manor house for the upkeep of the children. When they reach childhood, he sends them to the house of their uncle, Sayana Baidya. When Sayana Baidya takes Koti and Chennaya along with him, out of jealousy, Budyanta asks Sayana:

'O Sayana, what are you carrying, hatchlings (young-ones) of a rat snake, or of a cobra?'

Sayana replies, 'They may the hatchlings of a rat snake roaming on the edges of the fence or the hatchlings of a cobra; however, when they grow up, they will acquire poison and will become the snakes of the anthill.' (Monte Gowda and Isharappa Gowda: 1989)

In Sayana's reply, there is a voice of protest.

Sayana Baidya takes care of the boys. He teaches them good manners and gives them education. But when they are grown up, they refuse to stay at home. 'They hear the crowing of crows in Aliyuru and the chirping of parrots in Giliyuru.'

They want to play with 'a thousand children'. They take the permission of Sayana and go to the ground where children are already at play.

The saga of protest by Koti and Chennaya starts on the playground. In those days children from the lower castes were not allowed to play with the children of higher castes. In the Bakimar field (a large field in front) of the manor house, children of the minister, Budyanta, were playing; and Koti Chennaya wanted to play with them. Since they were prevented from playing in the Bakimar field, they were determined to play in the same field. They request the children of Budyanta to allow them to play with them. The children of Budyanta tell them, 'If you want to play, get Billava children and play with them.'

Koti and Chennaya force their way into the playground and play the *palle* game with the children of the minister and defeat them in the game. They take the pack (ball) of *palle* seeds with them. The children of the minister try to take the ball from Koti and Chennaya but Koti and Chennaya do not oblige. And they beat up the children of Budyanta. They go and complain to Budyanta.

Budyanta intervenes and insults Koti Chennaya: 'O Biruva children, your work is tying the hook to hang the sickle (referring to toddy tapping) and seeking mischief.' He snatches the ball of *palle* from the hands of Koti Chennaya and keeps it in the attic of his house. Koti Chennya throw a challenge at him:

(Translation by Burnell): 'We are young, and you take the nuts from us by force. Keep them well, and when we are grown up, we shall get them from you,' said the children. (1894: 30)

This is the beginning of the revolt by Koti and Chennaya against the members of the higher castes.

Koti and Chennaya actively think ways and means to meet with the situation created by Budyanta. They resolve to undergo gymnastic training. They seek the permission of

their uncle and go for training in gymnastics and combat skills. They compete with many other fellow gymnasts and excel in all the areas of gymnastics. After finishing their training, they return home and demonstrate their skill to their uncle and get his approbation.

Now Koti Chennaya wish to engage in agriculture and pursue drawing toddy as an additional calling. They remember the promise the Ballala seems to have given to their mother. They go and ask the Ballala for some paddy fields. Even leasing the *kambula* field by the Ballala to Koti Chennaya is a forerunner for the fight ahead. A ceremony is held to celebrate the first shave of the twins. Then, with a present, they go to the Ballala with a request to grant them some land for cultivation.

Following exchange takes place between the Ballala and the twins. The dialogue is from Burnell (1894: 145)

'Heroes! Come and sit down,' said the Ballala.

'The Business for which we came comes first; sitting comes next,' said the heroes.'... and they presented him the gift they had brought.

'Master! Where is what you presented to Deyi for our sake?' they asked.

'There is a field for you, named Kalaya Kari, in which plantain trees are planted, and another, named Pukare,[7] in which flowers are planted, and which is cultivated by one Buddyanda. They are in a large kambula field at Hanidoṭṭi Bail, for the cultivation of which you better arrange with Buddyanda,' said the Ballal.

'We will go there. Give us the permission, sir,' said the heroes.'

'Heroes! Chew betel-nut and go home happily,' said the Ballala.

'We will not chew-nut before we have ploughed four turns at least in the middle of the field, and before we have sown. Moreover, we will not take our food until then,' they said.

'Then take away the things which you have brought me,' said he.

'We do not take back what we have given. Will have connection only with a pure woman! We will not make friendship with bad company. We do not put our hands into a chump of thistles. We do not chew again betel-nut that has been spat out. We do not ascend the *Chāvaḍi*, if once we have come down. We do not see again the Master's face, when once we have seen it. We show our belly when we come, and show our back on our return. The remainder is at the beginning of seven battles. We shall see it that day. At that time you will know us.'

They keep the gift they had brought for the Ballala and go away. This shows their self-respect. They hint at the struggle ahead and indicate that they would not bow down before anyone. In the above exchange, it is clear that they would like to continue their struggle against the Ballala and the social system of that time.

Then Koti and Chennaya go with a present to the house of Budyanta. When he sees them, out of fear, runs and hides inside a mat. When they ask his wife about his whereabouts, she informs them that he has gone to a meeting in the manor house. They tell her that if he is not there, it does not matter; they would still give the present. They keep the present on

the mat inside which Budyanta is hiding. What is it that under the mat, they ask. She tells them that it is the pack of paddy seeds meant for the monsoon crop as well for the winter crop. They further enquire whether the seeds are meant for the monsoon or the winter crop. Chennaya taps the mat with his sword and finds it soft. Koti and Chennaya realise that Budyanta is hiding under the mat. They go away and hide behind his house.

Thinking that they have gone, Budyanta comes out of the mat and asks who has kept the coconut (the present kept by Koti Chennaya) on his chest. He throws the coconut away. Koti and Chennaya come out of hiding; take the coconut thrown away by Budyanta on their palms, and break it by their elbows, and eat the kernel. Although taking back a present is against their principle, still they retrieve the coconut thrown by Budyanta and eat it. This shows the extent of enmity they nurse against Budyanta. Their query regarding the paddy seeds also suggest about a possible showdown between Koti Chennaya and Budyanta.

On the whole, the above incidents involving Koti Chennaya are related fundamentally to their resentment over the social system presided by the Ballala, and their revolt against the machinations of Budyanta. They entertained no pride in spending their infancy in the manor house; nor did they feel any attachment to the manor house. There was an element of obligation implied in being brought up in the manor house. They wanted to lead an independent life. This is the most important aspect of the Koti Chennaya legend. They had to accept the challenge thrown up by the powerful people of the higher castes like Budyanta. They were forced to confront Budyanta, his people, and his neighbours. For Budyanta, the Billava brothers were the evil forces that harassed him. He felt jealous of the fact that Koti and Chennaya were receiving support and recognition from the people.

Therefore, at every stage, Budyanta has to compete with the heroes to maintain his prestige. For the same reason he tries to block and deny every facility extended to them.

When Budyanta goes to the soothsayer, Ballaya to fix an auspicious day for organizing the sowing festival of his *kambula* field, Koti and Chennaya request him to ask the soothsayer to fix an auspicious day for organizing the sowing ceremony of their *kambula* field as well. The astrologer suggests one day for the sowing festival of Budyanta and the heroes. However, Budyanta tells the heroes that the coming Tuesday is the day fixed for the sowing festival of his *kambula* field, and for theirs, the next Tuesday. Koti and Chennaya know that Budyanta would play some mischief; therefore, they decide to hold the sowing ceremony on the same day when Budyanta would organize the ceremony.

They go around the village and request the people to send ploughmen and he - buffaloes to plough their *kambula* field. On the day of the sowing festival, Koti and Chennaya finish ploughing and sowing their field earlier than Budyanta. This makes Budyanta furious. He shows his anger on the people of the village. He beats up the ploughmen and the draught animals that have come to extend help to Koti Chennaya and drives them away.

Budyanta waits to take revenge on the heroes for the loss of face he suffered on account of the sowing festival. A few days after the sowing, the water from the field is drained so

that the paddy seeds sprout. Budyanta goes and releases water from his field to the field of the heroes. Because of the force of the released water, the paddy seedlings in the field of the heroes are uprooted and washed away. Koti comes and condemns the action of Budyanta and tells him that if instead of him his brother were to come, the situation would have turned ugly. In reply, Budyanta taunts Koti about his brother : 'Does your brother fly in the sky? Can he kill an elephant? Can he play the way tigers play? Can he spring like the peacock?'

Budyanta further taunts Koti about his brother, 'He is with bent legs, his hands are like logs of wood; he has a bulging stomach, protruding teeth and red eyes.'

Chennaya, who is busy tapping toddy in the Sankamale forest, hears the heated exchange. He runs home, sharpens his sword, and with the sword, comes running to the *kambula* field. When he arrives the situation turns ugly and they repeatedly hit Budyanta with the sword and kill him.

Their killing of Bundyata is not the result of revenge against one specific individual, but it is a symbolic revolt against the oppression of the lower castes by the priestly and the ruling classes in a society dominated by a hierarchical social structure.

The main reason for killing Budyanta was the pledge they had taken when Budyanta snatched the pack of *palle* seeds from their hands. They were determined to take back the pack.

After killing Budyanta their anger shows dangerous but artistic proportions. They decorate the spade, brought by Budyanta to release water from his field, with his dress and ornaments, and place the decorated spade on the Padma platform.

As mentioned earlier (Chapter 2), then they go to the house of Budyanta, inform his wife that her husband is tired, and he wants water and milk to quench his thirst. They climb the attic of the house and take the ball. There is a lovely piece of conversation between the wife of Budyanta and the twins, and the conversation is clothed in riddles.

The Ballala summons the twins to his manor house to punish them for their crime. However, as stated earlier (Chapter 2) they remind the Ballala of the promise he had made to their mother. They demand different things from the Ballala; and he does not oblige.

Koti and Chennaya do not ask the things which can be given easily; as a mark of revolt, they demand from the Ballala the things which could not be given. Of course they have not asked the things with the intention of getting them. They did not mind going against the Ballala. They had moved beyond the pale of that courtesy.

As described earlier (Chapter 2) they set a deadline on the Parmale manor house and descend the steps of the manor house. While going out, they take a vow:

'We will not climb the stone steps from which we have stepped out; we will not caress a buffalo that has been sold and we will not court a woman who is left (by her husband).'

They go out in a fury; the force with which they go, seven slabs of the stone steps of Gundaimar paddy field, break. Again they make a resolution:

'We will return when the well in the middle of Gundaimar field and the seven stone

slabs join; when cats grow horns; and when the boiled paddy grains sprout.'

When Koti Chennaya started cultivating the *kambula* field, they requested the village carpenter to make some ploughs for them; the washerman to wash some of their clothes; the potter to make a few pots; and the oil-miller to mill some oil. After the unfortunate incident that led to the death of Budyanta, they wanted to know whether the things they had asked for were ready. They visited the house of each of them and asked for the things. Since these artisans were still under the control of the Ballala, they did not want to go against the Ballala by associating themselves with Koti and Chennaya. Hence they give excuses for not doing the work of the twins. The twins vent anger on them with their swords. Thus, as they go away from Parmale, on the way, they show their anger and aggression.

Aggression by the heroes remains unabated as they go by the forest road of Panja. A huge rock on the way becomes the victim of their aggression and it is pulverized, the roots of the trees crossing the road are severed, the grass and shrubs are tossed up into the sky, and the stars fall from the sky.

Sometimes their aggression takes an artistic and magical form. As they proceed, on the way, a Brahmin seated on a platform, who provides water to the passers-by to quench their thirst, refuses to serve them water. They place the points of their swords in their mouths and request the Brahmin to pour water on the swords. Not a drop falls down when they drink water as it is poured on the swords. This miraculous act draws the attention of the cowherds grazing the cattle nearby.

Although the boys are busy grazing the cattle, Koti and Chennaya provoke them, and poke fun at them. There is a situation where they chase the boys. This behaviour on the part of the twins is also an expression of aggression.

In the forest of stone berries (perhaps, Indian gooseberries), they go playing with gooseberries and toss the berries into the skies by their swords. Witnessing this display of miraculous power, the soldiers who are hiding in the forest to catch them, run away out of fear. Even in the show of aggression, they express their heroism and exhibit their ability to work miracles.

At the toll booth they drive away the toll-collector Dere and proceed without paying the toll. Defying the rules is a part of their aggressive behaviour. When they are imprisoned in Panja, they break the prison wall and escape. The prison becomes the target of their hostility.

They want to make an offering to their family deity, Bermer. The offering has been pledged by their mother at the time of their birth. However, when they reach the shrine of Bermer, the officiating priest is closing the shrine. They request the priest to open the shrine; he refuses. As a protest, they offer prayer and make the offering without the help of the priest.

When they reach Enmur, they find that the border stone separating Panja and Enmur has been displaced and it has been placed in the territory of Enmur. It meant that the territory

of Enmur has been encroached upon. They place the border stone in its original place and thereby show their resentment over the activities of the ruler of Panja and the people of Panja.

There has been a longstanding enmity between the Ballala of Panja and the Ballala of Enmur. The Ballala of Enmur wants to use the services of Koti and Chennaya to fight against the misdeeds of the Ballala of Panja by inviting them to his kingdom. Koti and Chennaya too want such an arrangement so that they could continue their fight against injustice and oppression.

As stated earlier (Chapter 2), a dispute arises between the Ballala of Enmur and Ballala of Panja over hunting of a wild boar by Koti and Chennaya. The dispute results in a 'seven-day battle fought in seven fields'. And the battle results in the tragic death of Koti and Chennaya.

Koti Chennaya wage their personal battle by resorting to dissent and disobedience.

In a way their fight is against a system and it is a collective struggle. The aspirations of many other communities are involved. Koti and Chennaya become important as the representatives of the exploited and the deprived communities. It is a normal practice that when a leader of one of these communities sacrifices his life, the persons who are responsible for his death strive for a compromise with that community. Therefore, a tomb may be constructed in memory of the departed leader, and he may be worshipped.

The rebellion and the struggle by the twin heroes continue even in the supernatural world. After their death, they go for a holy dip. At the border of the Mulki province, they are stopped by the twin heroes of the Mulki province, Kantabare and Budabare. Koti and Chennaya are in the supernatural realm, and Kantabare and Budabare, in the physical realm (since they are still living at the time of the encounter with Koti and Chennaya). (Monte Gowda and Veerappa Gowda: 1989) It seems when Koti and Chennaya come to the border of Mulki and want to enter the Mulki province, they are asked to pay a tribute to Jumadi of Ulepadi, the guardian deity of the Mulki province, by Kantabare and Budabare. They refuse to pay the tribute and maintain that since they have already made an offering to the Merciful Bermer of Kepulaje, they would not make offering to any other folk deity. Here also there is an expression of rebellion against the existing social order by the twins. Hence, they return from the border and do not enter the Mulki province.

Koti and Chennaya could have compromised with the Ballalas and lived happily. This does not happen. The upper caste persons like the Ballalas preferred warriors like Koti and Chennaya in their armies as soldiers, but, they would not appreciate if these warriors were to get some social position. In other words, there was a wide chasm between the upper castes and the lower castes; between the rulers and the ruled. Though there were able and deserving persons in different lower caste communities, they were made to feel inferior by the members of the upper castes and were constantly harassed.

In some of the written poems pertaining to that period we can detect the motivation to

fight against inequality and injustice prevailing in the society of that time. We may mention the names of saint poets, Kanakadasa and Sarvanja (of Karnataka) who were from the lower castes.

The voice of rebellion and struggle is found in many *paddanas viz.*, Kallurti Kalkuda Paddana, Parati Mangane Paddana, Koraga Taniya Paddana, Koddabbu Paddana, and Mugerlu Paddana. The folk deity Siri fought against the male dominated social system of her time. Her struggle is the theme of the Siri Paddana.

On the whole it is clear that the Koti Chennaya Paddana is a song of revolt and struggle.

Notes

1. The argument that individual talents are transformed into historical traditions cannot be denied.
2. Milman Parry and Albert Lord were the first scholars to have formulated a new approach to the study of oral traditions. They analysed the oral materials collected from the professional Czechoslovakian singers and formulated their theory. (Foley John: 1956, 1968)
3. The story of Kanada Katada is a story of two cultural heroes of Tulunadu, similar to the story of Koti Chennaya. An unlettered field drama (*yakshagana*) singer-director (*bhagavata*) used to narrate the story of Kanada Katada in the form of a song in the course of staging the field drama shows; he composed the songs on different episodes of the story on the spot. The '*mūkajji*' of Kundapura used to compose songs on the spot and recite them as she engaged in conversation with others. Chennappa of Sarapadi Madodi Palke of Bantwal and Poyyada Poovappa Salian (1992) have provided inputs—*paddana* and the story—for the composition of the field drama text on Kanada Katada.
4. Whenever the name of Bermer occurs, all the adjectives related to him are repeated without exception.
5. In the Bamid oral literature, this word is used in different senses, depending on the context.
6. Nayida Mallodi was Mallodi who trained dogs; the trained dogs were used in hunting and in the army.
7. Pukare—a tower like structure / pillar made from bamboo splinters and wood. It is planted in the middle of a *kambula* field after ploughing it for the last time in the season. It may have twelve rungs or cage - like structures. Performing certain ceremonies, the pillar / post is planted in the paddy field. The pillar symbolizes the folk deity who guards the *kambula* field. In some *kambula* fields banana saplings are planted. Planting a *pukare* pillar was regarded as more prestigious than planting a banana tree. Generally a structure called *kāpu* is planted in every cultivated field. The Tulu word *kāpu* means to protect or oversee.

CHAPTER - 4

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE KOTI CHENNAYA LEGEND

Different versions of the Koti Chennaya Paddana

More than one text may be necessary to understand *a paddana*. Therefore, I wish to examine different versions of Koti Chennaya Paddana in the light of the following objectives of the present study:

1. There is a close relationship between the context in which a *paddana* was composed and the meaning it conveys.
2. The context of the *paddana* gives detailed information about the country, period, and the characters that figure in the *paddana*.
3. The context might make explicit the social, political, economic, and cultural life of the people.
4. The social conditions and the changes in the social conditions of a given time in history get translated into oral history, and the oral history becomes the history of that place.
5. The study of the folk culture of a region is the study of the social groups or the communities of that place. This study itself is the historical study of that place.
6. When we identify the independence and spontaneity of the composer of a *paddana* in the light of the quality of the text and the experiences of the composer you would understand how the main elements of a *paddana* had changed over a period of time and what the causes that led to the changes were.

How different versions the of Koti Chennaya Paddana describe some of the important events of the story

Summary

(Note: The letter *p* stands for a version of the Koti Chennaya Paddana.)

1. While describing the place of Bermer, the idea of seven seas occurs in all the versions of the Koti Chennaya Paddana.

2. According to *p*2 and *p*7, God Suryanarayana creates Kenjava birds; in *p*5, Ishvara and Parvati create them; in *p*4 and *p*6, they are born in an anthill.
3. In all the texts, Kenjava birds—a brother and sister pair—become husband and wife by the grace of God Suryanarayana.
4. According to *p*4, the number of eggs the female Kenjava bird lays is one; according to *p*7, two; and according to *p*2, three.
5. In all the versions of the *paddana*, except *p*5, in all instances, the egg falls into a sea; and in *p*5, it is kept under the care of Nagaraja.
6. In all the versions, except *p*5, and *p*7, a Brahmin gets the egg in the form of a lemon; and in *p*7, he gets it as an egg.
7. In all the versions, Bamalla Kumara is born of Ekana Saler and Gindegili Ramu Deyyar.
8. According to *p*2 and *p*7, Bamalla Kumara and Parmale Ballala are brothers. In all the versions, Bamalla Kumara is pushed into a well and the mouth of the well is closed with stone slabs.
9. The version *p*5 says that Jevu Kedage is daughter of Vapatti Madmal and Pejanar; and *p*4 mentions that she is born out of a lemon placed in a vessel filled with rice.
10. The version *p*6 does not make any reference to Kenjava birds, Bamalla Kumara, Bermer and Jevu Kedage.
11. The version *p*2 states that Kedage reached puberty at the age of eleven years.
12. In all the versions, Kedage is left in the forest, blindfolded.
13. In all the versions, except *p*3, Sayana Baidya, who has gone to the Sankamale forest to draw toddy, rescues her, and in *p*3, his name is Samu Alva.
14. In all the versions, other than *p*6, Deyi Baidedi is given in marriage to Kantanna Baidya of Kangu Hittilu; and *p*6 mentions that her husband is Sayana Baidya. According to *p*7, before she is given in marriage she is sanctified by pouring water on her from a sacred pitcher.
15. Only in *p*1 and *p*7, there is a reference to Deyi Baidyedi as having given birth to a daughter before she gives birth to Koti and Chennaya.
16. In all the versions, except *p*2, a thorn pricks the foot of the Ballala when he goes hunting; in different versions, the name of the thorn is different, and in *p*2, there is no mention of the hunting episode and the Ballala suffers from a sickness called *bapu*.
17. In all the versions, except *p*2 and *p*3, there is no mention of Kantanna Baidya in the later part of the story; according to *p*2 and *p*3, he goes with Deyi to the manor of the Ballala; and *p*7 states that he is dead before that event.
18. No version states that Deyi boards the palanquin sent by the Ballala; all the versions mention that she keeps her case of medicine in the palanquin.
19. In all the versions, except in *p*3, Deyi gives birth to Koti and Chennaya in the manor house of Parmale Ballala; according to *p*2, she refuses to give birth in the manor house and goes to the courtyard of the house of Birmana Baidya. The other versions mention

that since she refuses to go to the house of Birmana Baidya, an arrangement is made in the manor house for her childbirth.

20. According to *p*1, the Ballala tells Deyi that he has to consult Budyanta to give her the reward; according to *p*5, he says that he has to ask Chavadi Santayya and Budu Bommayya; and according to the remaining texts, the Ballala gives her a part of the reward and tells her that he would give the remaining part to her children.
21. The version *p*1 mentions that Amana Bannaya and Birmana Baidya perform black magic on Deyi and kill her; according to *p*3, Deyi is living till Koti and Chennaya grow up; she participates in the ceremony of the first shave on them and splatters rice grains on them. The version *p*5 tells us that sixteen days after delivery she goes to Eraje with her children; and she dies after a week of her return when a fresh coconut leaf falls on her while seated on the Padma platform of the red coconut palm.
22. According to *p*4 and *p*6, when Sayana takes Koti and Chennaya to his house, Budyanta insults him by comparing the children to the hatchlings of a rat snake or to the young cobras, and Sayana gives him a befitting reply. (See Chapter 3)
23. The versions *p*1 and *p*3 mention that Koti and Chennaya play *Yet Picchi* game with the children, and according to other versions, they play with *palle* and *kalanji* seeds, and *p*6 and *p*7 mention that they play with a crude, locally made 'football'.
24. According to *p*4, *p*5 and *p*6, Budyanta snatches the ball from Koti and Chennaya and keeps it in the attic of his house. In *p*2, there is no reference to Budyanta snatching away the ball; the complaint goes to the house of each child and also to the Ballala. In *p*7, the children of Budyanta snatch the ball from Koti and Chennaya and give it to the father.
25. In *p*1, *p*3, and *p*6, there is a reference to the first shave of Koti Chennaya. In all the versions, except *p*7, one Isarakambi of Ijanagara is called to perform the first shave, and *p*7 states that they are taken to the Bantwal town for performing their first shave.
26. In all the versions, Budyanta cultivates the upper *kambula* field and Koti Chennaya, the lower *kambula* field. In all the versions, except *p*2 and *p*4, the upper and the lower fields are the divisions of Anilaje *Bail* (*bail*, a paddy field located at a lower level with a secure water source).
27. In all the versions, after killing Budyanta, Koti and Chennaya lay his body in the trench dug by him in the embankment of the paddy field and cover his body in mud drawn from the *kambula* field. In other versions, except *p*3 and *p*7, Koti and Chennaya decorate the hoe / spade (of Budyanta) with the dress of Budyanta; in *p*7, they lay the hoe on the floor and cover it with a sheet of white cloth. In all the versions, Koti and Chennaya straighten the dead body of Budyanta and then envelope his body in mud – first they put a hoe-full of mud on his head, next on his chest, forehead, groin, mouth, legs and shoulders.
28. According to *p*1, *p*2, *p*3 and *p*7, when Koti and Chennaya ask for the remaining part of

the reward promised to Deyi, they demand the *bakimar* field of the manor house of the Ballala. According to *p*1, *p*2, and *p*3, they demand a high breed she-buffalo and *p*1, *p*2, and *p*7 state that they ask for the flower garden of the royal ladies of the manor house. In the versions, *p*1, *p*2, and *p*3, they demand a jackfruit tree that produces three, four kinds of fruits and the Ballala obliges them. In *p*4, there is no mention of Koti and Chennaya asking for the remainder of the reward. According to *p*1, *p*4, *p*6, and *p*7, Koti and Chennaya set a deadline on the Parmale manor house and walk out and *p*1 makes a mention of the collapse of seven slabs of the flight of steps of the Gundyetimar field when Koti and Chennaya storm out, after setting a deadline on the manor house.

29. In all the texts, Koti and Chennaya, as they go away from the Parmale manor house, on the way, they kill the carpenter and the washerman when they do not give the things the twins have ordered. According to *p*2, *p*6 and *p*7, they kill the carpenter, the washerman, the potter and the oil-presser. On the other hand *p*4 mentions that the potter and the oil-presser give the things ordered by Koti and Chennaya; and Koti and Chennaya praise them and bless them.
30. The versions *p*1, *p*2, *p*3, and *p*6 mention that Koti and Chennaya pull down the toll-collector, Dere, and kill him for asking toll from them.
31. The versions *p*1, *p*2, and *p*3 state that though initially the Brahmin at the Dharmakatte refuses to give water to Koti and Chennaya, finally he gives water and also gives astrological advice about their future. The version *p*7 mentions that the toll-collector Dere himself gives water to Koti and Chennaya and there is no reference to the Brahmin.
32. The versions *p*1, *p*2 and *p*3 mention that Kantakka, who sells nuts warns Koti and Chennaya of a danger in the forest of stone-berries . Mogers, Bakudas and Koragas hide in the forest of stone-berries to capture Koti and Chennaya. However, when they see the skill Koti and Chennaya display in wielding their swords, all run away except Mogers. The Mugers admit their defeat and Koti and Chennaya accept them as their trusted servants.
33. When Koti and Chennaya go by the Panja grassland, they see a group of cowherd boys. They try to make fun of them; however they outsmart Koti and Chennaya. The versions, *p*1 and *p*2 maintain that Koti and Chennaya get satisfied with the answers given by the cowherd boys to their riddles and Koti Chennaya ask them the direction to go to the house of Payya Baidya. In the other texts, Koti and Chennaya provoke the cowherd boys, chase them and then ask the direction to go to the house of Payya Baidya.
34. In all the texts, Payya Baidya is one of the members of the group that has gone to capture Koti and Chennaya in the *nelli* forest, and he is beaten up by Koti and Chennaya. Therefore, he tries to run away when he sees them in his house. According to *p*4, it is not Payya Baidya who goes to the *nelli* forest to capture Koti and Chennaya, but Kujumba Kanja.
35. According to the versions, *p*1, *p*2 and *p*6, the teacher (Chandugidi) of the Per Permodi

Garadi (gymnasium) sees Koti and Chennaya coming to the *garadi*, he assumes the figure of a lizard and hides in the gymnasium. Koti and Chennaya come to know this and they test the competence of the teacher in gymnastics. The versions, *p*1 and *p*6 mention that when Kemara Ballala is preparing to welcome Koti and Chennaya to his territory, he receives a letter from Parmale Ballala, telling him to capture them.

36. In the versions *p*1, and *p*2, when Koti and Chennaya go to the porch of the manor house of Kemara Ballala, he does not meet them; he makes his storekeeper, Jaru Kothari sit on his throne, and he hides in the attic of the manor house. According to *p*1, Koti and Chennaya are imprisoned in Mundumalya; according to *p*2, in Adi Aramane; according to *p*3, in Elade Budu; and according to *p*4, in Sakole Mundu Malya. In the versions *p*1, *p*3, *p*4, and *p*5, Koti and Chennaya escape from the prison offering prayer to Bermer; and in *p*2, they escape by their heroism.
37. According to the version *p*1, Koti and Chennaya lift the border stone from the territory of Enmur and plant it in its original place in the Panja territory; and in *p*1, *p*2 and *p*3, Kinni Chennaya brings Koti and Chennaya to Enmur. In *p*1 and *p*2, there is a reference to a Beary Palli (*palli*, a mosque; Beary is a Muslim community found in Tulunadu), a Kudumba Church and a Setti Basadi (*basadi*, a Jain monastery). According to *p*1 and *p*2, as Koti and Chennaya make an offering to the door of the shrine of Bermer opens automatically.
38. According to the versions *p*1, *p*2, *p*3 and *p*4, Enmur Ballala invites Koti and Chennaya to his manor and allows them to stay in Enmur. In the versions *p*1 and *p*3, Koti and Chennaya do not accept the fertile land offered to them by Enmur Ballala; instead they ask for the land which is full of weeds.
39. In the versions *p*1, *p*2 and *p*7, Koti Chennaya drag the hunted boar from the Panja border towards the Manjal Pade (rock); whereas in *p*7, using their supernatural power, they revive the boar. In all the texts, the dispute over the hunted boar is mentioned as the cause of a battle between Panja and Enmur. The versions, *p*1, *p*2 and *p*7 state that Panja Ballala sends the following message in his letter to Enmur Ballala: 'Be ready for the battle. If you can't, dress like a woman, put on false breasts of coconut shells; wear a blouse and a sari with pleats; comb your hair and tie them into a knot and put on flowers on the knot, apply collyrium on the eyes and stand holding a small sickle (gejjetti). We want a maiden to finalize a marraiage and we will come to see you.'
40. The versions *p*1, *p*3 and *p*4 state that Koti and Chennaya convey to Enmur Ballala that they are ready for the battle. According to *p*2, before they go to the battle they call their brother-in-law, Elkate Kanjava and request him to cultivate their fields in their absence.
41. According to the versions *p*1 and *p*2, Chandugidi shoots Chennaya with an arrow and it hits his leg. He throws the arrow back at Chandugidi, and it hits Chandugidi on his chest and he dies. The version *p*4 mentions that Chandugidi shoots an arrow at Koti and it hits the leg of Koti. In the version, *p*6, it is Parmale Ballala who shoots an arrow

at Koti from a hiding place. According to *p*4 and *p*6, before going to the battle, they decide that when one dies in the battle, he would convey the message of his death to the other by a secret code through a crow. According to *p*3, the injured Koti dies on the veranda of the manor house of Enmur Ballala, and in *p*6, at the time of his death, Koti requests all the three Ballalas to live in harmony.

42. The versions *p*1, *p*2 and *p*5 mention that when Koti sits in the battle field, exhausted, his sword is snatched away from him. In all the texts, Chennaya, unable to bear the loss of his brother, bangs his head against a rock and dies. According to *p*4, a washerman, assuming the figure of a white crow, sits on the enclosing wall of a well and causes the death of Chennaya. This version also mentions that both the brothers die when they bang their heads against a rock. The version *p*5 hints at a conspiracy to snatch the swords of the twins, and according to this text, Koti and Chennaya breathe their last when the *prasada* of the God Subramanya of Kukke is applied on them.
43. According to the versions *p*1, *p*5 and *p*6, after Koti and Chennaya purify themselves taking a holy dip, they join the retinue of Bermer. The version *p*1 says that they take a holy dip in the Ganges; *p*5 mentions that they take a holy bath at Kukke Subramnya; and *p*6 says that when Koti and Chennaya go to a river in the north for a holy bath, they are stopped by Kantabare-Budabare; therefore they go to Talakaveri for the holy bath. The version *p*2 mentions that Koti inscribes a message on a copper plate, requesting Panja and Enmur manors to maintain cordial relationship. In the text *p*6, there is a reference to the setting up of a *garadi* for the departed twins and there is also a description of the *nema* festival organized in their honour.

The scope of the Koti Chennaya legend and its development

Koti Chennaya Paddana refers to the border disputes among the petty rulers of different provinces or principalities of Tulunadu. It narrates the events that took place during the era of petty rulers and the social relationships of different social groups of that period. Various households and the occupational groups of that era were: Ballala, Baidya, Budyanta, Brahmana, Ballaya, Madivala, Achari, Kumbara, Ganiga, Koraga, Mugera, and Bakuda.

The events that occur in the province of a petty ruler—a Ballala—who controls a few villages, spreads to two more provinces. The heroic deeds of the protagonists of the story, Koti and Chennaya, are put to test within the confines of three manors controlled by three Ballalas. The theme of the story is the tragedy involving two local youths. They are caught in the internal fight among the Ballalas, who were trying to enhance their prestige and realize their selfish ends. These local youths—Koti and Chennaya—become worthy of worship after their tragic end.

The heroic deeds of the heroes are confined to certain areas of the present day Puttur and Sulya talukas. Their heroic deeds are not recorded as historical events. But, in the oral tradition, the song about their heroic exploits has become extremely popular as a form of

folklore. In the context of continuing oppression and exploitation of the weaker sections even in the present day society, the story of the struggle and the life of Koti and Chennaya appears very much a contemporary saga. The story of their struggle touches the common people directly. In the backdrop of such a social reality, the Koti Chennaya Paddana has a greater appeal. This is revealed when we analyse many versions of the *paddana*.

It is true that the theatre of the heroic deeds of Koti and Chennaya—very popular heroes of Tulu folklore—is confined to a small area of Tulunadu and does not extend to more areas. Therefore, it seems some narrators of the Koti Chennaya Paddana have tried to enlarge the scope of the story and extend the geographical spread of the story. Since the values articulated by the Koti Chennaya Paddana are still relevant, it is plausible that a narrator might have tried to extend the area of the happenings in the *paddana* to a wider area and did not want to confine the story just to a small geographical space. The motivation must have been spurred by the fact that the places of worship of Koti Chennaya (*garodis*) have sprung up throughout Tulunadu. However while doing so he has followed the basic story line. In the different versions of the Koti Chennaya Paddana, there are no major differences regarding the story of the birth of the twin heroes, their upbringing, struggle, and tragic death. The positive feelings of the narrators towards Koti and Chennaya and their struggle, perhaps made the narrators continue the story of Koti and Chennayeven after their death. Even after their death, the twins remain heroes in the eyes of the narrators.

When the heroes, who fight and eventually die in the battle, attain divinity, attempts are made to extend the area of their activities beyond the area where they performed the superhuman feats. As a result, the nature of the folk song that narrates their exploits undergoes changes. An oral composition develops into a folk epic in the hands of the narrators. Modern scholars have termed the process of composing a folk epic a 'multi form' process. The process continues within a formulaic framework possessed by each narrator. Lauri Honko of Finland undertook a study to determine the multiform nature of folk epics under the 'Finnish-Indian Folklore Project'. He minutely studied the Siri and the Koti Chennaya Paddanas sung by Gopala Naika of Machara of Beltangadi.

The narrator plays an important role in a folk epic. His narration is affected by his cultural background, the context of narration, influence of his family, and his preconceived ideas of what he should be doing as the presenter of the folk epic.

For the purpose of the present study, I have collected seven versions of the Koti Chennaya Paddana. Among them, the version sung by Monte Gowda and Irappa Gowda is different from others. All the other versions of the Koti Chennaya Paddana are confined to a particular geographical region. Monte Gowda's version extends the scope of the Koti Chennaya story beyond the known regions where the heroic activities of Koti Chennaya are believed to have taken place. This way there is an extension of the heroism and struggle of Koti Chennaya. The ability of the heroes is tested when they are confronted with another pair of twin heroes. Thus, the ability of Koti and Chennaya is further strengthened and expanded.

The life experiences of the narrator and his / her immediate environment impact the manner in which he / she composes, develops, and narrates a folk epic. From this angle, the version of the Koti Chennaya Paddana sung by Monte Gowda and Gopala Naika does not appear inauthentic at all.

In the study of folklore, the differences between the authentic and the inauthentic *paddana* texts are quite apparent. Every *paddana* is important in a specific context and its importance depends on the context.

On the basis of some preconceived theoretical position, a scholar may ask whether a *paddana* is authentic or inauthentic. If Gopala Naika or Monte Gowda or any other narrator is capable of singing the longest version of a *paddana* known so far, the question obviously arises whether his / her rendition is authentic or inauthentic.

In this context Peter J. Claus (1991: 7) articulates a point of view:

'In fact, nowadays, there seems to be a competition among folklorists to see who can find the longest version of certain *paddanas*. To do so, they generally have to do the collection not in one traditional context, but in a new, artificially induced context, set up solely for the purpose of collection. This practice is causing, amongst the singers themselves, an inflation of the songs far beyond their traditional length in the traditional contexts.'

In the Footnote[9] on page nine of the same article, he further writes:

'Knowing the importance of context, it is imperative that the collector documents the text in context. If for some reason he wants more than this, there is no bar against collecting in some artificially induced context, but always this should be seen in connection with the performance text. If one always considers artificially collected texts in relation to performance texts, one puts into perspective the normality of any particular text. Recently one collector recorded a 25-hour recitation of the Koti Chennaya Paddana from a man of the Kannada-speaking Gowda caste. The Gowdas are not traditional singers of the text. But it wouldn't matter if it were a Billawa or a Parava caste, a man or a woman: this sort of recitation almost certainly has no traditional context. It is perhaps of interest as a curiosity, but it cannot be regarded as authentically traditional representation of the text.'

From the stand point of the nature of folk epics, the assertion (by Peter J. Claus) is based completely on wrong assumptions. The assertion that the collection of very lengthy folk epics depends on collector interest and curiosity, coupled with their competitive attitude may perhaps is the result of some preconceived notion on the nature of Tuluva folk epics. It is the result of neglecting the role of the audience. In research, it is entirely a preconceived notion to certify a *paddana* authentic or inauthentic on the basis of a specific performance context.

When *Koti Chennaya* is viewed as a legend, the story of Kenjava birds, and through the story of deluge and the creation of the world, extends the scope of Koti Chennaya Paddana.

In the versions *p*1 and *p*2, the story of Koti Chennaya begins against the backdrop of

tapping toddy. The version *p*4 describes relatively fewer events and employs a less number of formulaic expressions than other versions; similarly, in *p*5 after a specific stage, there is not much development of the story at all. Among the seven versions of the *paddana*, the reference to Kujamba Kanja is found only in *p*2, where you come to know who the third person is between Koti and Chennaya.

Culture of Tulunadu as reflected in the Koti Chennaya Paddana

Different scholars have commented on the culture of Tulunadu as depicted in the Koti Chennaya Paddana. B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 a: 172-225) has discussed extensively the nature of the Tuluva culture as reflected in the *paddanas*. No other form of Tulu folk literature describes Tulu culture in such a detailed manner as the *paddanas,* particularly the Koti Chennaya Paddana and the Siri Paddana. Siri Paddana narrates the story of the struggle of a woman (Siri), against the male dominated Bunt community—the community which is regarded as one of the powerful communities of Tulunadu. The Koti Chennaya story narrates the struggle and protest by the twin heroes of the Billava community. The Billava community is another important community of Tulunadu. Since these *paddanas* focus on the social relationships and the conflicts within the social system of that time, they reflect different facets of the Tuluva culture.

Paddy cultivation

Paddy cultivation is the main occupation of the people of Tulunadu. We get a lot of details about paddy cultivation in the *paddanas*, specifically in the Koti Chennaya Paddana. Paddy cultivation by Budyanta and Koti Chennaya in the Anilaje *kambula* field is the central theme of the Koti Chennaya Paddana. Koti and Chennaya undertake paddy cultivation twice in their entire life: once, in Parmale, at the place of their birth; and the second time, in Enmur, when they had already become valorous warriors. In the Koti Chennaya Paddana, the methods of paddy cultivation, the timing of cultivation, and the rituals and ceremonies connected with paddy cultivation are highlighted as the main cultural elements of the that time.

It is a practice to start ploughing paddy fields before the onset of the monsoon, on the 18th day of Paggu (April-May). On that day some token ploughing is done. Before the arrival of monsoon, the sides of the paddy fields are repaired; and to manure the fields, wastes and refuse are burnt.

Paddanas give a lot of information on *Suggi* cultivation (the second crop); that too, about the cultivation of the *kambula* field. The cultivation of the *kambula* field is important from the ceremonial point of view. The final phase of ploughing a *kambula* field is *kambula korunu* or *gorunu*. An astrologer is consulted to fix an auspicious day for the final phase of ploughing. Generally the astrologer would suggest a Tuesday as the auspicious day and the other days of the week are thought not to be very auspicious. Tuesday is supposed to be an auspicious day.

The final phase of ploughing a *kambula* field requires help from others and hence it is a joint effort by many farmers. The farmers in the neighbourhood send their animals and men. References to the cooperative life of the village are found in the *paddanas*. They mention the wealthy and the powerful persons like, Budyanta, ferrying paddy seeds in a palanquin to the *kambula* field for sowing. The *paddanas* also tell us how to take care of the young paddy plants. What is important in paddy cultivation is taking care of the sprouted paddy seedlings. Seedlings may wither away because of lack of water, or may decay on account of excess water, or wild animals may destroy them. Taking care of the young paddy plants was very important in the past and is equally important in the present. Its importance can be gauged by the incidents narrated in the Koti Chennaya Paddana: A violent fight breaks out between Koti and Chennaya and Budyanta over releasing excess water from the *kambula* field. A tragic battle is waged because of a border dispute over the hunting of a wild boar. Hunting is organized by Koti and Chennaya to protect the paddy crops of the village from wild animals.

The methods of paddy cultivation adopted by Koti Chennaya are creative and productive. This is the picture you get from the Koti Chennaya Paddana. In Enmur, Koti and Chennaya opt for barren and infertile land covered with wild plants for the purpose of paddy cultivation. This shows a futuristic view of social production. A futuristic outlook is also revealed when Koti and Chennaya make sure that their fields are cultivated and not left fallow when they go to the battle field.

Toddy tapping

Reference to toddy tapping occurs in the Koti Chennaya Paddana at three places: in the antecedent story of Koti and Chennaya, in the Budyanta Sandi, and in the Bantere Sandi.

There is no mention of Koti and Chennaya doing toddy tapping when they are in Enmur or Ekkadka. In Enmur they are appointed as military commanders and they also pursue paddy cultivation as a calling. If toddy tapping were the main calling of the Billava community, there should have been a reference to toddy tapping by Koti and Chennaya when they were in Enmur. Toddy tapping is pursued as a profession by those members of the Billava community who are economically poor. Since Koti and Chennaya commanded the forces of Enmur and thereby enjoyed a higher status in the society, drawing toddy for a living may not have been an important consideration for them. This is true even now.

Among the four caste groups of Tulunadu, there is no caste group that admits so much professional diversity as the Billavas. This is a distinctive trait of the Billava community. Though there are different sub-divisions among the Billavas— Kadtalegara, Kammara, Bontra, Vaidya (Baida), Pujari, and Paika—there is no separate sub-division for those who pursue toddy tapping as a profession.

Reference to toddy tapping in the antecedent story of Koti and Chennaya

The Pejanar couple leave their daughter, Jevu Kedage, in the forest, blindfolded. She moves around helplessly in the wilderness. As she does so, she holds onto a bamboo ladder tied to a wild palm (*Phoenix sylvestris*) tree. The ladder has been tied to enable the toddy tapper to climb the tree to draw toddy. Sayana Baidya, who has climbed the tree to tap toddy, sees the abandoned girl, and rescues her. He makes her carry a pot full of toddy on her head and brings her to his house. He gives her a new name—Deyi.

To draw toddy, a single bamboo pole with trimmed twigs on the joints, is tied to a large palm tree, and the toddy tapper climbs the tree with the help of this bamboo ladder.

Reference to toddy tapping in the Budyanta *Sandi*

After Koti and Chennaya get the paddy field for cultivation Koti concentrates on paddy cultivation, and Chennaya, on toddy tapping. He does toddy tapping in the Sankamale hill of Parmale. Chennaya has climbed a Palmyra tree to tap toddy when bitter verbal exchange takes place between Koti and Budyanta. He comes down hurriedly, 'descending three joints at a time and finally jumps off when seven and a half joints are still left.'

Reference to toddy tapping in the Bantere Sandi

When Koti and Chennaya proceed from Parmale to Panja, on the way, they go to the house of their elder sister, Kinnidaru. As they reach her house, their brother-in-law, Payya Baidya is not at home. He has gone to draw toddy and he would return only after finishing his afternoon shift.

Koti and Chennaya do paddy cultivation in the Anilaje field and toddy tapping in the Sankamale forest. Once Koti tells his younger brother:

'We need to draw toddy from the wild palms (*Caryota urens*) from which our uncle used to draw toddy. As the dew falls, we have to complete this work in the morning.'

The work of toddy tapping in the morning is not as strenuous as other works of the day. And yet the toddy tapper used to consume rice of the previous night soaked in water mixed with curds and then go for drawing toddy. Consuming morning meal with curds was practised not only by those who went for toddy tapping; the people who worked in the paddy fields in the morning also ate this meal and went to work.

In the Koti Chennaya Paddana, we get the following description of Chennaya going to the Sankamale hill to draw toddy:

'He goes to the southern wing of the house; takes out a hook and a flat stone from the roof; picks up a red piece of cloth of six *mulas* (one *mula* is about seventeen inches) from the rod, and wraps the cloth around his waist; fastens the hook over the waist cloth and keeps the stone in the same cloth; takes out a curved sickle from the silver bag; takes out a long log of satinwood from the side of the roof and spreads grains of white-stone on the log; pressing the edge of sickle against the log, sharpens the sickle; rubbing it against his

forearm, makes it to shine; and tests its sharpness with his nails.' (Monte Gowda and Irappa Gowda: 1989)

The description of Chennaya preparing to go for toddy tapping is against the backdrop of that day's happening when Koti Chennaya would kill Budyanta. When he starts to go to the Sankamale forest, there are certain bad omens:

'When he starts from the beautiful porch of the house, he trips on the threshold and dashes against the upper frame of the door; on his right, a white lizard chirps, and on his left, a *javuli* bird (a kind of bird) sounds bad omens, and a *basinga* bird (a bird with a crown) perched on the Padma platform of the red coconut palm, sounds an augury.' (Monte Gowda: 1989)

Such bad omens are found in other oral literary compositions.

Koti Chennaya Paddana describes the special pots used to collect toddy, separate pots used to bring toddy down from the tree, and the pots used to carry the toddy.

'After pruning the spathes in the afternoon, he (Chennaya) fastens the hook around his waist and keeps the rusted sickle in the hook, places the pot filled with the toddy tapped in the morning on his shoulder, and carrying the pot, comes to the Manja shed. He pours the toddy into a bigger vessel; hangs the empty vessel and keeps the sickle and the hook in the roof.' (Monte Gowda: 1989)

The pot filled with toddy is carried on the head or the shoulder. Toddy tapper winds his shoulder towel into a ring, keeps the ring on his head, places the toddy pot on the ring, and carries it to the shed.

The work of toddy tapping is carried on throughout the year. A toddy tapper may tap toddy from 25 to 30 palm trees a day. Generally he climbs each tree thrice a day: To draw toddy in the morning in the dew; to draw a head-load of toddy in the afternoon and to draw toddy in the evening. As reported by Pakeera Poojary (1989), a toddy tapper may climb toddy palms 90 times on a single day.

The following is a general picture we get from the *paddanas* of a toddy tapper when he goes for toddy tapping:

'From the *ajakol* (a cane or a wooden bar to put clothes), he picks up a piece of cloth of six *mulas* and wraps the cloth around his waist; picks up another piece of cloth of three *mulas* and carries it on his shoulder; takes a sickle from the *kāpu* (a place where the things required for toddy tapping are kept) and fastens the hook with the sickle around his waist.'

As referred to in Chapter 3, Budyatan insults Koti Chennaya by hinting at their profession: *Nikulu kattunu todank nadunu kalank.*

Because of the nature of their profession, toddy tappers are very courageous and adventurous. They are not afraid of anybody since they carry the sickle; nor do they easily submit to any threat from any one.

In almost all the *paddanas*, only *înd* and *îchal* palms are mentioned in relation to toddy tapping. In modern times, toddy is collected from Palmyra trees. In the coastal region, toddy

is harvested even from coconut trees. Doubt arises whether there were only *îchal* trees in the region where the Koti Chennaya legend originated. In the hill regions, toddy is still harvested from *īchal* trees. Probably harvesting toddy from coconut trees is a recent development. It appears that this development in modern times might be because of the reduced number of Palmyra trees.

It seems, in the past, only *īnd* and *īchal* palm trees were used for harvesting toddy. The evidence for this comes from a dance song of the Mugera community: 'Has a mongoose or a dog come near the foot of the *īchal* tree now, O Koraga?'

There are references to *īchal* palm in the seven versions of the Koti Chennaya Paddana that I have collected; therefore, it cannot be denied that these tree were found in the region where the Koti Chennaya story is centred.

Mahatma Gandhi's call for social reform included imposition of prohibition. Therefore, there was a call to fell palm trees used for harvestng toddy. It is possible that many *īchal* trees were cut down as a consequence and toddy tappers turned to Palmyra trees, instead.

Sheenappa Hegde (1991: 132) suggests that most of the details of the history of Tulunadu are available in the *lele* folk songs of the Koraga community and the Koraga community is regarded as the original Tuluva community. He writes:

'Bunts, Billavas, and Mogaveeras are the children of sisters. The rich Bunts and Mogaveeras are the children of the younger sister and the Billavas, of the elder sister. When the Billavas and the Mogaveeras ask their share of the property, the Mogaveeras claim the salt-water sea without borders as their share; the Bunts claim paddy fields with ridges as their share, and the Billavas, paddy fields and the trees near the seashore as their share. They sow three *seers* of paddy seeds and raise thirty *koilu* (one *koilu* = ten seers). They look to the east and spread their fishing nets to the west and fill their canoes. They hold (palm spathes) in the left hands, trim in the right hands and tie the earthen pots and tap toddy and thus they earn their living. They might organize the festival of the folk deities every year and give pots of toddy.'

That the three communities have a common origin is the message of the above folk song. The song also informs us about the various sources of livelihood of the three communities.

There is a Tulu saying: 'Death awaits for those who venture into the sea and for those who work on palm trees.'

Transport facilities

People had to cross rivers and canals to go from one place to another. They used to set up temporary wooden or stone bridges across rivers and culverts. There are references in the *paddanas* to hanging bridges with ropes to hold on while crossing.

Messages used to be sent by letters written on palm leaves. There is often a description of an elaborate process how to make palm leaves suitable for inscribing message: Palmyra

trees were felled, suitable leaves were cut, trimmed and dried. There were experts to make palm leaves suitable for writing. Then there were expert letter-writers—Senavas, Sanebovas, or Shanabhogas.

Military education

The *paddanas* mention that children used to be sent for *kalari ata* (a type of military training imparted in Kerala) and *garadi sadhane* (gymnastic training). *Garadis* (gymnasiums) produced heroes and warriors. One such *garadi* was Per Permbodi Garadi.

Fighting

There are numerous references to fighting in the Koti Chennaya Paddana. In other *paddanas* we rarely find such references. Territorial disputes led to fighting among the Ballalas and border disputes constitute the most important aspect of the Koti Chennaya story. Hence we get more details about fighting in the Koti Chennaya Paddana. The weapons used in the fighting were—bow and arrow; and swords. Other weapons are also mentioned—*chakra bāṇa* (a circular arrow), *kanchina didumbu, parige* and *pagarige. Paddanas* describe the ways of defeating the opponents by treachery and deceit when they cannot be defeated by the conventional methods. In a battle, different tricks were tried to break up the fighters, and engage the splinter groups separately. Traps and snares were laid on the path of the soldiers and were attacked when they were caught in the traps. Even magical methods were employed.

Children's play activities

The *paddanas* describe many play activities of children. Some of the games of the children were: Playing with a crude football; playing with *palle seeds* (*palle*, a large, flat, red wild seed) and *kadenji* seeds (*kadenji* is a kind of medicinal seed); *yatpicchi* (playing with cashew nuts; the game of *kuṭṭidoṇṇe* (playing with a long stick and a short stick); play with words; and solving riddles. Children who lost in the game would complain to the elders of the family and the elders, especially if they were influential, would snatch the play material from the winners and hide them in their houses. Another dubious method often mentioned in the *paddanas* of defeating an opponent in a game was to entice him to descend into a well and then close the mouth of the well with stone slabs.

Economic system

There was an arrangement to levy toll at the borders. When Koti and Chennaya reach the border of Panja, the toll-collector Dere asks them to pay the toll. He demands toll even for the swords they carry. There was a system of charging additional quantity of grains—*poli*—for the quantity borrowed. The *varan* (*varan*, an ancient gold coin) system of charging interest on loans was in vogue.

Administrative arrangement

Once upon a time, different parts of Tulunadu were ruled by petty kings—Bangas, Chowtas, Ajilas, and Samantas. Under the petty kings, there were officials called Ballalas. A Ballala controlled a few villages. Each village had a village-head, or a *gurikara*; the *gurikaras* of many villages were under a Ballala or a Heggade; and the Ballalas or the Heggades were the appointees of the petty king or the provincial ruler. Thus, in the administrative set up, there were officials such as Arasa, Ballala, and Gurikara. A petty king lived in a palace, and a Ballala, in a *būḍu* or a manor house. The residence of the head of a village was a *guttu, balike* or *barke*. Common people lived in huts.

Boundary stones were planted to indicate the name of the village or the province, and its area. Powerful rulers changed the position of the border stones to annex the territory of the neighbouring province which led to border disputes.

There were platforms to provide drinking water for travellers, and there were platforms to collect tolls from people who crossed the border of a province. A provincial ruler raised his own army for the protection of his province and appointed commanders. There were *garadis* (gymnasiums) which trained people in the use of arms and in gymnastics. When some strong person or a hero entered a province, attempts were made to keep him in the host province. There was a practice of capturing a person who interfered with the affairs of a province by hatching a plot.

Residences

Names of different types of residences occur in the *paddanas*: the *budu* of a Ballala or the *būḍu* of Budyanta, the *ill* of Birmana Baidya, and a *koppa* of a Koraga.

A *būḍu* was a palatial house with many storeys; it was a seven-room structure; it had an upper storey and a veranda; there were long wooden planks placed on the edges of the veranda for the people to sit on; there was a wooden chest used as a seat for the head of the household to sit and there was an enclosed pandal. In the courtyard of a *budu*, there was a platform constructed around the base of a jackfruit or a coconut tree. There was a large box, chest or coffer in the veranda of a *budu*; weapons and ornaments were kept in the box and the box was locked. The chest was used for siting and sleeping. Designs of elephants and horses were engraved on the chest. There were some foreign tripods in the veranda.

In some *budus*, there were prisons called *munḍu mālige* (a garret).

In the *paddanas* you get the following picture of the house of a well-to-do person: A wooden gate in front of the house, a front door and also small interior doors, a large cowshed, a big storeyed house with a picotta to draw water, pandals of gherkin and *basale* (Basella alba) plants, a platform constructed around the base of a red coconut palm and temporary pandals raised in the courtyard of the house.

Food

In the Koti Chennaya Paddana you have the following description of a heavy meal or a feast: '*Ale kutudu ainudu bage puli kutudu munnudu bage / kaṇale kavadeda uppad bolyarita bovono / neyit under alet kaidekkiyer.*' (Manner: *Koti Chenṇaye* II: 1886: 43) Burnell's translation: '...they (Koti and Chennaya) were served with green boiled rice, *ghi*, five hundred kinds of curries mixed with curds, three hundred kinds mixed with tamarind, and tender bamboo shoots, pickled berries called *kavade*, and ate the food mixed with *ghi*. They washed their hands in butter-milk, and thus finishing their meals...') (1894: 43)

The same description of a heavy meal is found in many other *paddanas*.

Toddy was a favourite drink. In one of the *paddanas*, there is the mention of supplying toddy to the manor house of Parmale Ballala by one Samu Alva, a close friend of the Ballala. There was a close relationship between toddy tappers and manor houses. This is illustrated by a popular saying: *Guttalvana maga murteyava*, *murteyavana maga guttalve* (son of a *guttu* ruler is a toddy tapper; son of a toddy tapper is the ruler of a *guttu*).

A visitor to a house was offered a vessel of water and a pot of milk. It appears that a stranger drank water only after knowing the caste of the person offering the water. This is clear from the Kinnidaru incident where Koti and Chennaya ask Kinnidaru her caste before drinking water given by her. Drinking water was provided to the travellers on the platforms located on the roadside. According to the *paddanas*, the person who provided this facility was generally a Brahmin. He followed the prevailing caste practices of the village while serving water. For the people of higher castes, he served water in a bronze vessel, and for the people of the lower castes, he poured water into a sprout *(kaidambe)*. When Koti and Chennaya ask for water, he (Rama Joyisa) tells them to drink water poured into the *kaidambe*. They refuse to drink from the sprout; and request the Brahmin to pour water on their swords. They place the points of the swords in their mouths and drink the water poured on their swords. Pleased with their extraordinary powers, he brings from his hut a pot of milk and offers them.

It seems there was a platform constructed around some trees located on the edge of the courtyard of every house for the visitors to sit. Depending on the caste of the visitor, seating arrangements were made. An arrangement to supply drinking water was in place in the courtyard of the house. A person could drink water from a pot, or in a device made from a coconut shell. The above details of a traditional house of Tulunadu are found in the episode on Kinnidaru.

Dispensing folk medicine

Those who dispensed folk medicine were *Vaidyas* or *Baidyas*. Koti Chennaya Paddana makes references to folk medicine, black magic, magical incantations and magical practices. Parmale Ballala was treated with the help of folk medicine. Koti Chennaya Paddana informs us that Sayana Baidya was an expert in folk medicine and he imparted his knowledge to Deyi Baidedi.

Folk medicine is known by different names: *ajji mard* (grandmother's medicine), *mane mard* (home medicine), *mulige mard* (herbal medicine), *uramard* (native medicine), and *nātimard* (folk medicine). This system of medicine came down from antiquity. Psychological and religious beliefs of the people have a bearing on the outcome of treatment based on folk medicine. The assumptions of the practitionars of folk medicine regarding health in general and their overall philosophy of life influence the outcome of the treatment. Invoking supernatural forces is an important element in this form of treatment. These factors cannot be explained in scientific terms.

Magical practices play a dominant role in folk medicine. People believe quite strongly that diseases are caused by evil spirits, folk deities, and unsatisfied souls. These evil forces are to be satisfied and their delirious effects on the person, eliminated. For this purpose attempts were made to invoke these forces by making offerings to them. Kerala is regarded as the birthplace of folk medicine, black magic, and magical practices. It is said that the system of magical medicine spread from Kerala to Dakshina Kannada and Uttara Kannada districts of Karnataka. In the coastal Karnataka, the practitioners of folk medicine are called by various names: Ballaya, Pandit, Baidya, Notagara, Tantri, and Joyisa.

The persons who seek the help of the magical system of folk medicine for their problems strongly believe that the Vaidya (the medicine man) makes the folk spirit that he (Vaidya) and his family worship enter his body and with the help this spirit, he (Vaidya) would drive away the evil spirit that has been troubling the patient or has fallen in love with the patient.

The most important fact is that the practitioners of the magical system of folk medicine and those who use this system are from the weaker sections of the society.

The expression '*ballayaḍa nōṭa nimitta kēnoḍu*' occurs in many *paddanas*. It means a diviner must be consulted to find out the reason. Finding out the cause of an ailment, or an abnormal behaviour; and deciding on the method to treat the disorder, or the elimination of the abornormal behaviour constitute the core of folk medicine. The belief that 'treatment for a thorn prick is a thorn; treatment for poison is poison' seems to work here (in magical medicine). A person troubled by the folk deity, Nicha is treated with the help of a folk deity more powerful than Nicha. The same principle appears to be at work in folk medicine. Modern medicine has also developed on the foundation of the principle of antibodies.

In spirit worship magic or sorcery is the most important element. While practising this system of medicine, the practitioner of magic, may be a sorcerer or a priest, invokes his family folk deity or the local folk deity. He uses many magical or exorcist rituals: He may abuse in a filthy language the spirit that is supposed to have taken hold of the patient; beat the patient with a broom; may jump and scream so that that evil spirit troubling the victim appears in his (sorcerer's) body.

At the time of the annual fair (*jātre*) of a folk deity, it is a common practice to plead with the folk deity to settle some dispute or provide relief to the victim troubled by an evil spirit. Various offerings are made to the folk deity: *kanchil seve* (offering by children),

Siri seve (offering made to Siri), *Siḍi seve* (suspending oneself with a hook), and *urulu seve* (rolling on the floor of the courtyard of the shrine). Some of these offerings involve inhuman cruelty.

Some people use folk medicine and sorcery as a profession to make a living. Therefore, most people who seek help from sorcerers are innocent people and they become victims of exploitation. This is a social evil. The system of medicine that relies on black magic, magical incantations, and spirit possession is founded on unscientific beliefs and practices. Science and reflective thinking question its foundation. As scientific attitude and reflective thinking sharpen, it is possible to question the fundamental need for God and religion.

Testing the chastity of a woman

Reference to testing the chastity of a woman occurs in the *paddanas*. A maiden who conceives, or a married woman whose husband is not present becomes pregnant, may be subjected to some tests by the people to prove her innocence.

A lump of butter is placed on a betel leaf and a hot iron ball is kept on the butter. If the butter does not melt and the betel leaf does not wither, she is supposed to be chaste.

Hot oil is poured in a cauldron with seven handles, and she is told to step into the cauldron. If she emerges unscathed, her purity is said to be proved. Then she would protest in riddles, 'I am not the person who shows her stomach to the sky and back to the earth' implying that she has maintained her purity. She would further say, 'I am not the person who sees the face of some other man.'

Why does child marriage take place? If a girl was married before the onset of her menstruation cycle, it was believed that she would not get her period afterwards. It was also believed that her menstrual blood should not fall on the ground, and it was regarded as a sin if it did. Her first blood was to be utilized to continue her line. Because of these reasons, perhaps, people justified child marriage. When Madri reached puberty, Shalya and others kept it a secret. The same thing must have happened in the case of Kunti. (Chandrakala Nandavara: 1991)

Protecting the chastity of their daughters was thought to be the main responsibility of the parents. This could be another reason for child marriage. The practice of leaving in the forest a girl who has reached puberty before she is married is mentioned in some stories.

Stuart (1895) who has analysed the Sthanic community says that 'Girls must be married in infancy i.e., before they attain puberty.'

In a story about Goddess Mari, there is an episode in which a Brahmin girl, who attains puberty before she is being married off, is left in the forest, blindfolded, and a cobbler marries her claiming that he is a Brahmin. (Ramachandra Rao T.: 1992)

In the Mukambika Jevu Paddana, the wife of one Vasu Bhat attains puberty after her marriage. This shows that girls used to be given in marriage before they reached puberty. Vasu Bhat, who is a priest in a temple, because of some unavoidable reasons, has to leave

his wife in the *budu* of Kadmbar Mayya and goes to Malayala country. When Mayya comes to know that she has attained puberty in his manor house, he molests her. She commits suicide. (Rupakala Alva: 1992: 7) It is difficult to guess what the fate of the girls who attained puberty was (once upon a time). Due to such things, perhaps, child marriage might have been unavoidable.

In the past, girls were given in marriage when they were seven or ten years old. According to a traditional custom, if a girl attained puberty before she was married, she was left blindfolded in the forest. Nowadays the custom is not found anywhere; you may read about this practice only in story books. But such stories would not have been told without the custom being present once upon a time. When I talked to some women of the Brahmin community, they admitted that they had heard such stories; but, they did say that the information of a girl reaching puberty was kept secret and child marriage was prevalent. One of my informants, Bhagirathi (1992) said, 'When you see the atrocities (against girls), we feel that early marriage of girls is better. In a country if girls remain unmarried, it does not augur well for the country.'

In support of the above belief, there are certain stories. Bhagirathi told me one such story:

'There was a kingdom. The king of the place wanted to dig a pond. When the pond was almost complete, one portion of it collapsed. The reason for the mishap was enquired into. It was revealed that there was a girl in his kingdom who had reached puberty, but she was yet to be married and the king was advised to arrange her marriage. When it was investigated, he did find the girl. The implication of the story is that in a country if girls are not given in marriage before they reach puberty, it does not augur well for the country. Therefore parents used to arrange the marriage of their daughters before the daughters reached puberty. In the context of the tradition that girls should not remain without being married, the practice that a girl must be given in marriage before she reaches puberty, makes sense. When a girl becomes seven years old, her parents start worrying. Even if it is meant a second marriage for the man, marriage of the girl is arranged with that person.'

From the details of marriage described in the *paddanas*, we would notice that the girl was always younger, and the groom, of an advanced age. In the past, the age of the groom was not given importance; getting the girl married was the main consideration. In the Kantabare Budabare Paddana a similar episode occurs. (Kukra Poojary, the singer of Kantabare Budabare Paddana: 1992)

Communities

Ballala

The communities that figure in the *paddanas* are basically occupational groups. The same occupational groups gradually became castes and they are now recognized as such. The name Ballala that appears in the *paddanas* was the name of an official designation—

a cognomen. Ganapati Rao Aigal has identified some of the households with these official designations: Chowta, Banga, Mula, Heggade, Ajila, Ballala, and Tolara. Among these, almost 50% of them were Ballala households. A Ballala or a Heggade was not the actual ruler of a province; rather he controlled around four to twenty-one villages and he was almost an independent ruler. They were under the sovereignty of the Vijayanagara and Ikkeri rulers, and later, they were under the East India Company.

In Koti Chennaya Paddana, we find references only to the Ballala households and not to the other households mentioned above. Many *paddanas* make references to Ballalas. Since Ballala was a designation, it did not refer to any specific community. Most of the rulers of Tulunadu were Jains. But there are instances of Bunts or Nadavas shifting their allegiance to Jainism. The Bunts who had blood relationship with the Jains and who had left meat eating were treated as Jains. Becoming a Jain was thought to be professing a superior culture. In some of the Bunt households, at the time of making food offering to the ancestors, there is a practice of serving vegetarian food (supposed to be for the Jain ancestors), and the offering is called *Jain agel*. Hence, in Tulunadu, Jains and Bunts are thought to belong to the same community.

Like the Jain Ballalas there were Bunt Ballalas.[1] There were Brahmins with Ballala cognomen. The Ballalas of Parmale, Panja and Enmur were not Jain Ballalas; nor were they Brahmin Ballalas. The Ballalas that we find at present in Vitla, Puttur, Sulya, Chipparu, and Paivalike are not found in Parmale and Enmur. There are a few households in Panja that trace their origin to the Panja Budu of the yesteryear. The present M.B. Ballala of Panja Budu is from the royal family of Vitla. As reported by M.B. Ballala[2] (1994), the Ballalas of Parmale, Panja and Enmur are not Jain Ballalas. But there was a cultural tie among them. In the past, all the *budus* were under Arasu Ballalas. Those who possessed the administrative control of *budus*, whether they were Jains, Bunts, or Brahmins were called Arasu Ballalas. The Ballalas of Panja, Vitla, Paivalike, Cipparu, Karadka, Bettampadi, Chengala, Bedriya, Bellur, Advala, Kedambadi Kuntaru, Kudalu, Enekallu, and Jappu have dispersed to different places. The present Ballala of Panja claims that his family is from the royal family of the Panja of the past. The families claiming ancestry to the royal family of Panja of the past are found in other places as well.

The royal of family of Domba Heggade of Vitla looked after the administration of nineteen villages of the Vitla province. (Ganapati Rao Aigal: 1923; Sheenappa Heggade: 1991: 121) The first reference to the Vitla royal household is found in *AD* 1436. The recently deciphered Vagenadu epigraph of the Karopadi village seems to indicate that the Domba Heggade royal household was in existence in the 12th or the 13th century. It is one of the oldest royal households of Tulunadu. It had connection with some 200 provinces in the neighbourhood and the influence of the household was felt in all the 200 provinces. (Pundikayi Ganapayya Bhat: 1985: 2; Padekall Vishnu Bhat [Article]: 1986)

Does *ballala* mean a warrior, or a powerful man? According to Kittel, *ballala* means

a heroic person. (1894: 1085 – 87). According to Shivarama Karanth (1967: 372: 1940), the terms, *ballada* (Telugu), *vallala* (Tamil), or *ballal* (Kannada) refer to *vīra* (warrior), *heggade* (chief), or *shakta* (capable person). Kadava Shambhu Sharma (1970: 36 – 38) tries to link *Ballala* with the Natha sect. According to him, Ballalas were mendicants from the Vangadesha (Bengal) who went to different places singing songs on yoga and *shakta* (worship of goddess Durga) and thus spread Natha sect. The tradition continued as *Natha Sampradaya* (Natha tradition or Natha Sect). The members of the sect must have appointed their followers (*hastika*) as their kings. The ruler of Vitla can be viewed as an example of this trend. In the Vitla royal household, there is a centre *gorakṣa pītha* called Raja. You may guess that some warrior (*balladu*) from this centre might have been appointed king. The Jogi and the Siddhara Mule monasteries at Jogibettu, Kadri, and Kaṭattil of Vitla are the proof of the historicity and power of the Natha tradition. You could also say that the Panchalingeshvara temples of Vital and Panja are the fossils of the Natha tradition.

Baidya or baida

A term which is used extensively in the Koti Chennaya Paddana is *baidya*. Baidya and Baidedi are the surnames in the names—Koti Baidya, Chennaya Baidya, Sayana Baidya, Kantaṇa Baidya, Birmaṇa Baidya, Deyi Baidedi, and Sonne Soyi Baidedi. In some places, the surname, Biruva or Billava is also used. However, the surname, Biruva is not used as extensively as the surname, Baidya.

In the Koti Chennaya Paddana, the term *baidya* is used to designate a community. In the same *paddana*, surnames to identify other communities are also used; however, no surname appears as frequently as Baidya. The entire Koti Chennaya Paddana reflects the culture of the Vaidya (Baidya) profession. Therefore, the nomenclature, Baiderlu has come into usage.

Baidya is Vaidya *i.e.*, the person who treats sick persons; a practitioner of folk medicine. A Baidya knows folk medicine and black magic, and can recite incantations. Sometimes, he is called *pandit*. The word *baidya* is an occupational name; but in the *paddanas* it is used as the name of a caste. In the *paddanas*, persons who extract toddy from palm trees are described as Baidyas. The Jumadi Paddana mentions one, Aduru Dere Baidya; the Bobbarya Paddana, Ponga Dere Baidya and in the Koraga Taniya Paddana, the seller of toddy is Mairakka Baidedi.

The persons who use bow and arrow in hunting and fighting (in a battle) are Biruvas or Billavas. Biru is bow. The community that was proficient in the use of bow and arrow in hunting and fighting must have been recognized by the society by this name. The word *biruva* is employed in the *paddanas* as a caste nomenclature.

Another term that is used extensively in *paddanas* is *banṭa*. Koti and Chennaya are called *Banṭer*. Koti Chennaya Paddana itself is called the *Banṭere Sandi*. The term *banta* is used here to refer to heroes or valiant persons.

A person who acts according to the orders of his master and who participates in his activities is also a *banṭa*. There were *bantas* who worked for Ballalas.

Apart from the surnames, Baidya, Biruva, and Banta, the Baidya community possesses another surname Pujari for their role as priests in various rituals and ceremonies of folk deities. Priests who officiate at the rituals and ceremonies of folk deities are Pujaris, Bhandharis, Odaris, and Kottaris. Therefore, Pujari is an occupational label. The person who officiates as a priest in the worship of a deity (*pūje*) is a Pujari.

Pūje was originally a Dravidian term. An activity like keeping flowers is *puchey*. (Peruru Jaru: 1994:7) Experiential consciousness, religious rituals, and meditation that lead to unity with God are reflected in the Dravidian life. (*ibid*: 8)

Budyanta

Budyanta was the name of an office. The leader of a society or a community used to be called normally a Budyanta. In Uttara Kannada, in certain communities, especially among the Nadavas, the term, *budyanta* or *budavanta* refers to a village head or the name of a throne. He was the person who held court and resolved disputes. In the Koti Chennaya Paddana, Budyanta is portrayed as the person who is envious and jealous of his competitors, who keeps himself away when disputes are settled and justice is enforced, and who makes people fight.

The names of some of the callings—Achari, Madivala, Odari, and Ganiga—appear abruptly in the Koti Chennaya Paddana. These names are related to the communities that provided various services to the farmers in the traditional Tulunadu: the Achari made implements used in farming; the Madivala officiated at the rituals and purificatory ceremonies; the Odari provided potteries used in cooking and extraction of toddy, and the Ganiga supplied oil. These artisans were important as providers of various services to the community. Koti Chennaya Paddana also makes a reference to the barber; he would come from the up-*ghat* Ijanagar to perform haircut. There is no suggestion in the *paddana* that this community (of barbers) was a part of the Tuluva society and the members of the community participated in the activities of the Tuluva society, along with other Tuluva communities.

In different contexts, there are references to Brahmins in the Koti Chennaya Paddana. There is a mention of a custom among the Brahmins of that period of abandoning in the forest blindfolded a girl of their community who reached puberty before her marriage. We are also told of the different activities of the Brahmin community: performing worship, providing drinking water to the travellers, telling fortune, and pursuing cultivation.

According to the Koti Chennaya Paddana, the person who was conversant with religious texts, a diviner, was a Ballaya; the person who trained hunter dogs, a Nayiya Mallodi; the persons who managed the storehouse of (Parmale) *Budu* were Budu Bommaya and Chavadi Santaya; the teacher of gymnastics was a *guru*; agrestic serfs

were the Koragas of Koppa, the Bakudas of *Bail*, the Mugeras of the *Oni*, and the Kattas of the Kana; and the persons who grazed cattle were Govalas. The *paddana* also mentions mosques and churches.

The most important aspect of the social structure of that time was that individuals were recognised on the basis of their professional names: Bottu Okkel Amana Bannaya; Budu Bommaya, Chavadi Santaya, Budu Budyanta, Matta Bira Ballaya, Sunkada Dere, Kayi Maru Kantakka, *govu mepavuna* Govale, and the fortune-teller, Joyisa. These names refer to the respective professions and not to modern caste names. However, only the Billavas become the victim of caste prejudice. This is reflected in the conflict between Koti Chennaya and Budyanta.

Though the conflict involving Koti, Chennaya and Budyanta appears as a personal clash between them; we can guess that it was a clash between two communities, and Koti, Chennaya and Budyanta were the representatives of these communities. The assassination of Budyanta did not happen suddenly; it was the result of many unsavoury incidents of the past and assassination was executed in an organized manner. It is normal for the cultivators of the adjacent paddy fields to squabble over water; however, in the Koti Chennaya story, water dispute between Koti Chennaya and Budyanta could be interpreted just as an alibi.

The deep-rooted distrust between Koti, Chennaya and Budyanta symbolizes the fact that the two powerful communities whose representatives they were, might have been at loggerheads from the distant past. To be more specific, we could guess that the Koti Chennaya story is nothing but the narration of conflict among three communities: Bunts, Brahmins, and Billavas. It is possible to provide some evidence in support of the above claim. At the time of Koti Chennaya it does not seem that there were Brahmin ministers in the royal courts of the Ballalas; all the ministers were Billavas: Payya Baidya, Bommaya, and Chandugidi, to name a few. Gradually others, like Budyanta, came to occupy these positions. It implies that Billavas began losing their status and position in the society.

In the beginning of the 17th century, Jains lost their supremacy in Tulunadu and the Nayakas of Keladi became powerful. In the armies of Jain rulers, Bunts and Billavas were the main fighters. The invasion of Tulunadu by Venkatappa Nayaka of Keladi during this period (beginning of the 17th century) led to the establishment of Keladi rule here. Hence, Billavas, Bunts, and Jains, who were living in Tulunadu, migrated to Sulya and Puttur regions of Kodagu. The migration might have triggered a conflict for position and status among these communities.

It is not clear whether Budyanta was a Jain, a Bunt, or a Brahmin. In the Koti Chennaya Paddana, the full name of Budyanta is Mallaya Budyanta and his wife is Arasakke Madimal. Generally Brahmins call their wives *madimal*. From this point of view, Budyanta might have been a Brahmin. Among the Sthanik Brahmins, surnames: Jiya, Anna, Ayya, Appa, Shastri, Joyisa, and Oja are found. The surname Malla is found among Jains, Bunts and Brahmins. (Gururaja Bhat: 1963: 147) But the surname Ayya is found only among the Brahmins. Therefore, *malla* + *ayya* —> might be *Mallaya*. The Sthaniks among the

Brahmins were the first people who were given the responsibility of looking after the temple property in Tulunadu and they were assigned the official position, *sthanik*. It is not surprising that the Sthanik Brahmins viewed Billavas as their competitors because of their surname *Pujari*. With the feeling that the Billavas who enjoyed position and status in the society would block such social advantages to others, there were attempts to sideline them. There is no doubt that historically there was a conspiracy against Billavas to that effect.

The conflict between Koti, Chennaya and Budyanta was a conflict related to land, and assassination of Budyanta was just an expression of this conflict.

Historicity of Koti Chennaya

It is sometimes believed that the history of a country is the sum total of time and events. Although historical information and records are the elements to construct history, many a time history remains incomplete because the available historical information and records are not properly utilized. As a result, you have a history that tends to ignore the reality. The history of Karnataka does not appear complete without reference to the heroic deeds of the Tuluva heroes and without the details of the cultural, religious life of the people and the ruling families of the region. The rich oral traditions of Tulunadu have been excluded in the history of this region. Time alone is not enough to decide the historicity of a people. From the standpoint of history, a conflict between two households and their communities becomes a historical record.[3] The oral compositions like the Koti Chennaya Paddana are important sources to reconstruct the history of this place (Tulunadu).

The Tulu-land is around 250 km long and 40 to 80 km wide. Once upon a time, Tulunadu stretched from Gokarna on the north to Pampula in the south; from Ankola to the river Chandragiri. Parmale, Panja, and Enmur are located within this geographical area. These places are in the present day Sulya and Puttur talukas. Geographically Parmale, Panja, and Enmur of the Koti Chennaya legend constitute a small area and these places lie near the border regions of Kodagu and Kerala.

Saletore (1936: 459) paid attention to the oral compositions *viz.*, *paddanas* while writing his book, *Ancient Karnataka history of Tuluva*, apart from using the lithic (stone) and copper plate inscriptions, written records, and the avaiable literature. He writes that *paddanas* or folk songs are the important sources to study the life of the Tuluvas of the Ancient and Medieval periods. He further adds that these rich sources have not been exploited sufficiently for the purpose of constructing history of Tulunadu. He believes that among the *paddanas*, those related to the history of heroes like Koti Chennaya and Devapunja are directly connected with the history of the Tuluvas.

B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 a: 225), while making a comparison between the epigraphs of Tulunadu and *paddanas*, says: 'Though epigraphs of Tulunadu provide information on social, economic, and religious aspects of Tulunadu, they do not reflect the folk culture of Tulunadu as *paddanas* do.'

He lists four important sources that can be used to determine the probable period of a *paddana*:

1 The inscriptions that refer to the folk deities (Bhutas) of Tulunadu

2 The inscriptions that clearly refer to the ruling families of Tulunadu of the past and the historical events connected with these families

3 References in the inscriptions to the setting up of historical sites and structures

4 Different cultural events that help in determining the approximate period of a *paddana*

Viveka Rai (*ibid*: 226 – 234) has calculated the period of the composition of some of the *paddanas* that relate to the spirit worship of the Tuluvas:

1 Siri Paddana—before 1499

2 Panjurli Paddana—in the beginning of the 15th century

3 Bobbarya Paddana—before 1546

4 Jumadi Paddana—first half of the 17th century

5 Kalkuda Kallurti Paddana—first half of the 17th century

6 Attavara Daiyangulu Paddana—middle of the 17th century

7 Todakukkinar Paddana—middle of the 17th century

8 Koti Chennaya Paddana—middle of the 17th century

The Portuguese arrived in India in the middle of the 17th century. During the same period, Shivaji attacked Goa, and some of the Christian families from Goa migrated to other places, including Basruru. Sadashivaraya of Ikkeri, who ruled Tulunadu from 1514 to 1547, annihilated all the reputed families of Tulunadu; erected a wooden pillar and constructed a fort at Kasargod. The historic Mayilakote was in Kasargod. Ballalas, Jains, Nadavas, and others lived here. In the 17th century, Venkatappa Nayaka overpowered the Heggades and the Ballalas of Tulunadu.

As indicated by the available evidence, Koti and Chennaya are believed to have performed their heroic deeds during the early years of the 17th century. At the same time, there is no information to suggest that Koti and Chennaya had fought against the invading army of Venkatappa Nayaka, or participated in a battle against any invader. There is no mention of any fort or its bulwark (*kōṭe kōṭṭāla*) to prove that Koti Chennaya were historical persons. In other words, the heroic deeds of Koti Chennaya were confined only to three provinces, and the neighbouring regions of these provinces. Therefore, there is some difficulty in fixing the period of Koti and Chennaya. The factors that help in determining the period of Koti and Chennaya could only be the cultural elements.

In the history of Tulunadu, Ballala was a title of an office. Hence, a Chittadi Brahmin received honour, Chittadi Ballala, and a Nidamburu Brahmin, Nidamburu Ballala. Any person of a higher caste could occupy this office. Sheenappa Heggade (1991: 175) mentions that among the Tuluvas who owned property and land, and who were engaged in trade were Jains. The communities that pursued their own hereditary callings—Baragas, Mugeras,

Billavas, and others—were called meat-eaters and untouchable on the basis of some kind of agreement between Brahmins and Jains. This was a conspiracy. Jains agreed to the arrangement because of the influence of Brahmins on them. Jains brought all people under their control and strengthened the caste system. At the same time, Jains and Brahmins excluded themselves from the perview of the Aliya Santana Code of Bhutala Pandya and the village system, and propagated that they were of superior castes.

The followers of Shankaracharya, who were Shiva Brahmins, renounced their tradition and became the followers of Madhvacharya, and called themselves, Shivalli Brahmins. According to Sheenappa Heggade (1991: 174), even before this, some Brahmins had embraced Jainism and became Jain priests called Indras. Friendship developed between the new Jains and the Shivalli Brahmins. There was also a simmering discontent between the two communities. Each community felt that its own traditions and practices were superior to the traditions and practices of the other. They publicly declared their separate positions.

It could be said that Brahmins were given a position of importance in Tulunadu by Jains. The Jain Ballalas established temples of Lord Janardana and appointed Brahmins as priests. In spite of the preceding development, there were a few Tuluvas who wanted to live independently, ignoring both, Jains and Brahmins.

In the prevailing social climate of that time, the *ajal* system became well-entrenched. A custom developed, according to which the barbers who rendered service to the Brahmins and the Jains were not permitted to offer the same service to the Billavas and the Marakalas. The members of the upper castes produced literature in a secret script in support of the belief that Tulunadu was created by the legendary ascetic, Parashurama.

The Jains who came from the Kannada region struck friendship with the ruling families of Tulunadu and married maidens from these households. Jain Shāntaras—Chowta, Banga, Ajila, Samanta, Mula, Tolahara, Kambali, Bairarasa, Bharasa, Binnana, and Konna—married maidens from the matrilineal families of Tulunadu, and this resulted in the entire Tulunadu becoming a Jain Shāntāra family. This way the Tuluva Jains spread to different places in Tulunadu. (Sheenappa Heggade: 1991: 180)

Jain Bunts appeared to have ruled Tulunadu as Ballalas 600 years ago. Some studies indicate that the Ballalas of the Koti Chennaya legend—Parmale Ballala, Kemara Ballala and Enmur (Deva) Ballala—probably lived in the 17th century.

When you examine different incidents narrated in the Parmale Ballala Paddana, you find some kind of progression: First, there is the arrival of the twin heroes, Kinnimani and Pūmani to the province controlled by Parmale Ballala. They are believed to have come to Tulunadu from outside. They are worshipped as Ullakulu or Kinnimani Pūmani. These folk deities are also called Attavara Daiyangulu, or Udyavara Arasu Manjishnar. Kinnimani and Pūmani are believed to have lived in the middle of the 17th century. (B. A. Vivek Rai: 1985 a: 231) Therefore, the period of Parmale Ballala is said to be 17th century.

Parmale Ballala Paddana mentions that one Abdulla, provided security to Parmale

Ballala. In the *paddana*, there are references to the three Ballalas mentioned above seeking help of Muslims on different occasions. When there were attacks on the native rulers, like Rani Abbakka, for example, the Muslims of Tulunadu participated in the battle against the invasion by foreign powers.

In the Parmale Ballala Paddana, there is a mention of a barber, Kanna Bhandari. In Koti Chennaya Paddana, which is supposed to belong to the same period as that of Parmale Ballala Paddana, there is a reference to a barber, Siddhu Bhandhari. There are references to the requisition of the services of these barbers by the rulers of Tulunadu and they (barbers) were said to be from Ijanagar (Vijayanagar). Vijayanagar kings ruled Tulunadu for about 250 years, starting from *AD* 1230. Therefore the period of Parmale Ballala falls in the 17th century.

There is one more interesting incident that helps in deciding the period of Parmale Ballala. The incident involves Parmale Ballala questioning the powers of the folk deities worshipped by him. When there is some doubt on the supernatural powers of a folk deity, there may be attempts to question the folk deity on the veracity of its powers. The Kallurti Paddana mentions this practice (Nandavara: 1992: p. 52). In the Parmale Ballala Paddana, there is a reference to the shooting of a deity with a gun by the Ballala. The practice of using bullets as ammunition came because of the Portuguese. The Portuguese came to Tulunadu in the middle of the 17th century. Therefore, you may accept the period of Parmale Ballala as middle of the 17th century.

As narrated in the legends of the Parmale, Panja and Enmur regions, there were instances of harassment of the ordinary people by the rulers like the Ballalas. There were many instances where persons of the upper castes made persons of the lower castes work for them, and serve them. Then the same persons showed sympathy towards the exploited persons. This is reflected not only in the Koti Chennaya legend but also in many other legends.

To protect the crop, (Parmale) Ballala engages a Mayilu woman (of a scheduled caste community) to drive away *chale* birds from the front field of his manor house. He promises her a gift of land. After harvesting the crop, instead of granting her the land, he gives her some paddy, and with the connivance of his folk deities, drives her out of his manor. Tying the paddy at the end of her sari, she goes away.

That (Parmale) Ballala did not take good care of his wife is evident from the fact that he cheats her in a *chenne* game (an indoor folk game) and declares himself as the winner in spite of losing the game. When she goes to her maternal home, he conspires with the folk deities to make her mentally sick, and thus forces her to return.

The same thing happened in the case of Deyi Baidedi. Till he was cured of his ailment, Ballala needed her. Therefore, he promises her to give anything she asks for. Once he becomes all right, he does not keep his word.

There are indications in the Parmale Ballala Paddana that Budyanta and the Ballala were not in good terms. There is no mention of Budyanta when a hunting expedition is

organized or when the Ballala is injured in the course of hunting and becomes bedridden. There are no references to the Ballala consulting Budyanta in matters concerning the administration of the manor or activities of the manor. He wants Budyanta as a minister just for prestige. When Budyanta is not in good terms with the Ballala, he (the Ballala) wants to get rid of him. In fact, in granting the lower *kambula* field to Koti Chennaya and allowing Budyanta to retain the upper *kambula* field, he makes sure that Koti and Chennaya and Budyanta would fight and Budyanta would be eventually killed.

Some doubts arise regarding certain events narrated in Parmale Ballala Paddana and Koti Chennaya Paddana. To ask for the things promised by Parmale Ballala to their mother, Koti Chennaya go to his manor. When they go there, what do they demand! The flower garden of the queens, the royal sword of the Ballala, or a highbred she-buffalo! The royal sword is the symbol of the authority of the Ballala. Handing over the royal sword is tantamount to transferring power. There is a custom in the matrilineal families of giving a small sickle in the hands of a lady who has come of age. It symbolizes mother handing over her rights to her daughter. Parmale Ballala does not seem to have a daughter. There was no system of conferment of the jurisdictional title on a Ballala of the Parmale province. The person who handed over the swords to Koti and Chennaya was a queen, by the name Ellurabbe. Who was this Ellurabbe? Was she the mother of the Ballala, or his wife? The girl whom the Ballala seemed to have married secretly was found missing.

Koti and Chennaya receiving swords from a person from the household of Parmale Ballala signifies that they enjoyed certain rights vis-à-vis the manor of the Ballala. It is not difficult to find out the source of the rights they enjoyed. As has been mentioned earlier, Sayana Baidya finds the abandoned maiden in the Sankamale forest and he takes care of her. She assists him in his work of harvesting toddy. According to the Koti Chennaya Paddana, one day when she crosses a river carrying a vessel of toddy, she conceives. This is of course an unclear idea. There are such stories in the birth of some of the heroes belonging to the lower classes. Achi becomes pregnant after drinking water from the well of the manor house and gives birth to Kantabare Budabare; the Holati who used to bring foliage to the manor house conceives and gives birth to twins—Kanada Katada—in a thicket of a hillock. The same unclear mysteries are found in the birth of Koddabbu, Koraga Taniya, and other folk deities.

To hide the sexual exploitation of women working for a Ballala, the excuse of becoming pregnant by drinking water from a well or a river is offered. These excuses are at best tall tales. These tales give rise to two types of doubts:

Folk heroes and heroines may be born to certain lower caste families, but the higher castes may be reluctant to accept them as heroes and heroines on account of the low-born status. Therefore, the members of the higher castes give new twists to the birth of these folk heroes and heroines. This could be the reason why the parents of the heroes / heroines die within a few days of their birth and they become orphans. It is perhaps proper to say

that before the truth comes out, the parents of the heroes / heroines die mysteriously. Initially the Ballala loved Koti Chennaya very much and showed a lot of concern and sympathy towards them. However, at a later stage, this feeling seems to wane. There must be some strong reasons why this has happened.

Koti Chennaya and the oral history

There are no historical records or evidence to prove that Koti Chennaya were historical personalities. Oral materials can mitigate this deficiency. Folks keep alive their histories through folklore. History is not just a sum total of periods and incidents; oral literature and geographical materials are also a part of history.

At the time of Koti Chennaya what was the nature of the Panja *magane* (a *magaṇe*, a group of villages)? Who were the overlords and the petty rulers of the region? What were the areas administered by them?

The Vijayanagara rulers ruled Tulunadu from *AD* 1336 to *AD* 1565. But they could expand their territory in Tulunadu only around *AD* 1399. Ikkeri Nayakas ruled Tulunadu from 1556 to 1764. During this period, Bangarasa of Mangalapura was a chieftain under Ikkeri Nayakas. He (Bangarasa) controlled 147 *maganes*: Sulya, Bellare, Neranki, Subramanya, Enekallu, Amara, Panja and Puttur. (Sheenappa Heggade: 79 – 80) There were many Ballalas under him.

Among the Ballalas who ruled Tulunadu, Banta Ballalas, Jain Ballalas, Varma Ballalas, and Brahmin Ballalas were prominent. In Enmur, a Jain Ballala was ruling, and in Panja, a Varma Ballala or a Banta Ballala. A Jain Ballala must have been the ruler of Parmale. During that period, Chikka Sankanna Nayaka (1559–1571) was ruling in Ikkeri and after him, Ramaraja (1571–1582). Bangarasa was a chieftain under the Ikkeri rulers. There were many Ballalas as provincial rulers under Babgarasa. There were 21 villages in the Panja *magane*. Among these, four villages *viz*., Ammai, Enmur, Alengar, and Kerpata, and three villages of the Bellare *magane viz*., Pijavu, Goltila; and Uderi were under the control of Enmur Ballala. The Ballala of Panja became famous in the 17th century. He got 17 villages from Bangarasa. He expanded his territory to Amar *magane*, Subramanya, Enekall, Bellare, and the Nerenki *magane*—the territory held by the Ballala of Sulya. When the Ballala of Panja got control of such a vast territory, why were the seven villages of Enmur Ballala not included in his territory? When we investigate this, we unearth curious things.

Somewhere between *AD* 1559 and *AD* 1571, there were indications of the possible invasion by Bahamani Sultan, and hence Chikka Sankanna Nayaka toured the entire Tulunadu. Deva Ballala of Enmur extended full support to Sankanna Nayaka and he gifted 12 *mudis* of rice land to Deva Ballala. From this you could guess that Sankanna Nayaka must have warned Panja Ballala not to cause problems for Deva Ballala.

There were indications that there could be a war between Ramaraya of the

Vijayanagara, who was of the Tulu descent, and Bahamai Sultan. Ramaraya ordered his satraps (subordinate rulers) to mobilize their forces. During this period, Bangarasa shifted his palace from Bangadi to Puttur. Puttur was in the middle of his feudatory state. When the ruler of Puttur, Hegde Arasa received the order from Ramaraya, he appointed a Muslim youth as the commander of his army. His (Muslim youth's) wife was heavily pregnant at that time. Therefore an arrangement was made to keep her in the Kariya manor house of Puttur under the care of the woman head of the manor house.

In 1565, as a result of the war, the Vijayanagara ruler was defeated. The Muslim commander of Puttur died in the war. In the same year, his wife gave birth to a boy. The boy was given the name, Kunji. He was brought up in the Puttur manor house. One day, it seems, a tiger attacked a calf of the manor house and Kunji killed the tiger. Hence he got the nickname, Pilikunji. He was trained in gymnastics in the gymnasium of the Vitla ruler, and his teacher was one, Deranna Gowda.

The teacher Deranna Gowda was caught in a love tangle. To escape punishment, he sought protection of Enmur Ballala. Enmur Ballala sheltered him. To seek the blessings of his teacher, Pilikunji went in search of his teacher. He reached the court of Enmur Ballala. When the Ballala saw him he was pleased with the sturdy physique of Pilikunji and appointed him the commander of his army. After the demise of Koti Chennaya, Pilikunji provided protection to Enmur Ballala.

Pilikunji protected Enmur from the invading forces of the Ballala of Kadaba. Later, since Deva Ballala did not have a progeny, he gifted his manor house and the principality to Pilikunji. He got an inscription inscribed to that effect. Hence, the descendants of Pilikunji inherited the Enmur manor. However, the incumbent, Katta Rukma Ballala, nephew of Deva Ballala of Enmur left Enmur, in the same year (1597). He could not reconcile to the idea of Pilikunji becoming the ruler of Enmur estate. He went to Katta of Kolla Mogaru. A Banta from Kolla Mogaru came to Enmur. Thus there was an exchange of power. Rukma Ballala wanted to rule Enmur. Therefore, with the help of the Ballala of Kadaba, he forcefully took away the royal sword of Enmur and the crown. Pilikunji stopped him at Kamila of Panja and took back the royal sword and the crown. Disappointed at having lost the power of the Enmur manor house, Deva Ballala made Pilikunji the heir to the Enmur estate. Since then Enmur has been under the control of Muslims for the last 402 years (starting from *AD* 1597). (D. G. Nadka: 1999)

There was a reorganization of villages, first by Tippu Sultan, and then by the British. A new village, Aivattoklu was created merging the Enmur area held by Pilikunji family, and a descendant of Pilikunji was appointed as *patel*. For the remaining area of Enmur, a Shetty of Katta was appointed as *patel*. It appears that the original name of Pilikunji was Mammade or Mammali.

Estimating the time of Koti Chennaya

The fall of the Vijayanagara empire—1565

Death of father of Pilikunji—1565

Birth of Pilikunji—1565

The year when Pilikunji, who was 25 years of age, came in search his teacher—1590 (1565 + 25)

The Enmur battle must have taken place five years prior to 1590; therefore, the year of the Enmur battle was—1585

According to oral history, when Koti and Chennaya met with tragic death, they were 30 years of age; therefore, the year of their birth was—1555 (1585 – 30 = 1555)

Koti and Chennaya were born (as on 2015, the year of the publication of this book)—was 460 years ago.

B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 a: 231 – 2) suggests that the period of Koti and Chennaya was the middle of the 17th century *i.e.* before *AD* 1650. Gururaja Bhat (1975: 22), on the basis of *paddanas*, maintains that Koti and Chennaya must have lived 500 years ago. Krishnappa Malpe (1990) is of the view that the Panja – Enmur battle took place in *AD* 1695, though he does not provide any proof in support of his claim. Laxminarayana Rai (2000), manager of Enmur Brahma Baider Garodi says that his ancestors came to Kollamogru Katta 370 years ago and his is the ninth generation. According to him when Koti and Chennaya met tragic death, they were 30 years old. Even the oral history maintains that Koti Chennaya did not live beyond 30 years of age.

There is a serious charge that folklore is an unauthorized history. However, we cannot totally deny the possibility of the origin of history in folklore. Many stories of the unlettered people are the memorized historical events. They tell us the stories of the military conquests and the eventual victory of the folk heroes (and heroines). When you examine these stories afresh, we get information on migration and invasion. But the stories remain as legends (Raglan: 1949: 8). Ralgan iterates the assertion of Alfred Nutt (1901: 339): 'Is there a historical legend anywhere?' (Bascom: 1981: 84)

The events connected with Koti and Chennaya have remained as a part of the spoken language of the people. The generation that could narrate the events in detail is no longer there; but, D.G. Nadka, a retired teacher and agriculturist, and M.B. Ballala, who claims that he belongs to the family of Kemara Ballala, are the two prominent persons of an older generation who can give details of the historical remains of the time of Koti Chennaya and the Koti Chennaya legend.

Koti and Chennaya could have negotiated some compromise with Parmale Ballala and lived happily thereafter. This did not happen. When Koti and Chennaya kill Budyanta, he becomes worried. He starts thinking that they might pose danger to him as well. Therefore, he drives them away from his manor. He hatches a plan to capture them when they reach the border of Panja. For this purpose he uses the services of Chandugidi of Panja. In Panja,

Koti and Chennaya could not be defeated. Then the three Ballalas systematically plan to eliminate Koti and Chennaya.

A few days after giving birth to the twin boys in the manor house of Parmale Ballala, Deyi Baidedi appears to have been killed. Kantana Baidya, her husband, does not seem to be around much before her death. As Koti Chennaya grow up many situations are created so that Koti Chennaya are forced to fight Budyanta. When Koti and Chennaya ask for a paddy field, Parmale Ballala gives them a paddy field adjacent to the field of Budyanta. When they kill Budyanta, Parmale Ballala orders to get them trampled under the feet of his royal elephant. Later, the toll-collector Dere and Chandugidi try to capture them. The three Ballalas use Koti and Chennaya to settle their personal score. To weaken the ability of Koti and Chennaya to fight, attempts are made to separate the brothers in the battle field. Thus the oral history of Koti and Chennaya is nothing but the history of their tragic death in the battle field.

The nature of history depends on who writes it and for whom it is written. The history of the district (Dakshina Kannada), or Tulunadu that has already been written, is written by somebody for someone. However, while writing these books, common people of the land have not been taken into consideration and they are written without consideration for the common people of the place.

Places connected with the Koti Chennaya legend

Many geographical details and historical remains associated with the Koti Chennaya legend are found in the regions of Parmale, Panja and Enmur.

Parmale and Parmale Ballala

Parmale (Tulu), Padumale (Kannada), or Pammala (Malayalam) of the Koti Chennaya legend is the place that includes the Badagannuru and Paduvannuru villages of the present day Puttur taluk. According to one view, the place got the name, Parmale because of one Permanna Ballala, and according to another view the ruler of Parmale was called Perumala Ballala.

As we go by the Puttur-Sulya road, at a distance of thirteen km from Puttur via the Kumbra-Perigeri road, there is a place called Kaudicharu. Padumale village is located towards the west of Kaudicharu at a distance of eight km by the Badagannuru - Sulya road. There is a shrine of the folk deities, Pūmani Kinnimani to the south of Padumale village, at a distance of one and a half km. The Kuve Shastara Vishnumurty temple and the Pūmani Kinnimani shrine located here (Padumale) are not connected with the Koti Chennaya legend. They are associated with Parmale, and through Parmale, with the history of the Ballalas.

A few *paddanas* are available on Parmale Ballala and all of them contain materials with tragic import. One of them is conneted with the Ballala and the Ullakulu deities; another

tells the story of a *chenne* game played between the Ballala and his wife; third narrates the story of the Ballala going on a hunting expedition when he is injured, Deyi Baidedi comes and treats him; and the fourth narrates a legend-like incident associated with the clan of the Ballala. These *paddanas* are quite popular and arouse curiosity.

There are certain local legends regarding the arrival of the Ullakulu deities in Parmale.[3] They provide an oral history of Parmale. Some of the legends are:

- The legend regarding a clash that leads to the breaking of the flagpole of Subramnya temple
- The legend of Mugera Mantame (*mantame*, a decorated pandal)
- The legend of Madada Gudde (*gudde*, a hillock)
- The legend of Shula Padavu (*shula*, a spear; *padavu* a grassland): Shula Padavu is believed to have been created when a spear was thrown; then it becomes Sule Padava and now it is called Sulya Padavu
- The legend of Ambara Padavu: Ambara Padavu, the grassland where Ullakulu deities are believed to have taken rest
- The legend of the Ullakulu deities asking one Shankara Gowda of Sankesha Bail direction to Parmale when he goes in the night to Ambara Padavu carrying with him a lighted torch of coconut leaves and the deities follow him and come to Parmale
- The legend of releasing from the prison, the Ballala who has been captured and incarcerated by his enemies
- The legend of Ballala falling unconscious in the field of his manor as he runs from the prison with the chains around his feet
- The legend of a Muslim youth Abdulla attending to the Ballala and making arrangement to shift the Ballala to his manor house
- The legend of *Sakoltimar* or *Ankole* field: The field into which the Ballala has fallen is called *Sakoltimar* or *Ankole* field and the Muslim youth who has helped him is Sankole Abdulla. At the time of the festival of the folk deities when the deities perform the wandering ritual, the descendants of Abdulla are given the privilege of receiving the deities by swinging the chains. There is a mosque here.
- The legend of Kanna Bandari receiving the *koḍe sēve* at the time of the festival of Ullakulu folk deities for his skill in performing a haircut on the folk deities when they came in human form though he was asleep; installing his statue with the name, Kolu Bhandari,[4] in the cart of Ullakulu deities
- The legend of the carpenter who made the cart and the story of Udrandi or Rudra Chamundi
- The cart, which is believed to be of the era of the Ballala, catching fire on 28 – 01 – 1981
- The legend of the marriage of the Ballala (Parmale Ballala) with the princess, Kinnige or Kinnimanigo, daughter of Madanduru Peddoler
- The legend of the Ballala cheating his wife, Manigo as they play a *chenne* game and

she, going back to her maternal home out of anger

- The legend on the Ballala bringing her back to the manor house with the help of folk deities after taking a vow to make an offering to the folk deities; touching his wife before fulfilling the vow and the tragic death of his wife.
- The legend of the Ballala fulfilling the vow by constructing a temple for the folk deities; making a cart for them; orgainzing their festival and yet becoming depressed because of the death of his wife.
- The legend of the Ballala going on a hunting expedition and sustaining an injury and Deyi Baidedi treating him
- The legend of the white horse of the Ullakulu deities grazing in the front field of the manor house and destroying the crop; the Ballala trying to test the powers of the folk deities
- The legend on the Ballala shooting at the temple horse in the pretext of organizing the festival of the folk deities at Mudayuru, when the headdgear — *muḍi* -- is being carried to the temple on the back of the temple horse
- The legend of the Ballala firing three shots at the horse; he receiving one of the bullets in his hand as final betel leaf; and this heralding the end of the Ballala clan (K. C. Patali: 1989: 7 – 15)

The Tulu inscriptions on Parmale

A lithic epigraph was found in the paddy field of Kochanna Rai of Sanjakadi and it was taken to Dharmasthala 20 years ago. It is now near a granary of Dharmasthala. The stone with the inscription is 4'x1', 3"x9" and there are inscriptions on all four sides of the stone and the inscription on one side is in good condition. According to Kudkadi Vishvanatha Rai, the inscription must be referring to a gift of charity. (1999)

Some of the legends mentioned above are directly linked to Koti Chennaya. One of them is a legend of the manor house of Parmale Ballala. The manor house is in a broken down condition; but there are certain historical remains: There is a well near the ruins of the manor house and a forest land surrounds the manor house; there is a veranda of the village assembly; there is a seven-acre Gundaitimar or Bakitimar paddy field and above this field, there are large paddy fields; there is a vast plane land; and there is a flight of steps used by Koti and Chennaya to storm out of the manor house after setting a deadline.

Sankamale forest

The forest-land located at a distance of two km from Kovetoṭa is called Sankamale. It is said to be the grove where Jevu Kedage (maiden name of Deyi Baidedi) is believed to have been left blindfolded. At present, the place is barren except for a few trees and shrubs, and some Palmyra trees. From the hilltop of Sankamale, one can see the border of Padumale and the surrounding areas. The Nettinige, Mudnuru and Madnuru villages are towards the

east of Sankamale; the Nettinige and Mudnuru villages are on the south of Sankamale; towards the west of Sankamale, there is the Nettinige village of Kasargod, and to the north, the Nidpalli and Olamogru villages. The Aryadka village is located on the northeast of Sankamale. The Bantaje village is found to the west of the Aryadka village; to the south of the Aryadka village, there is the Kannadka village; and to the east of the Aryadka village, the reserved forest of Muguli is located. The river, Papemajalu is to the north-eastern border of Sankamale and to the northeast of Sankamale, on the border of the Sulya grassland, there a rivulet at Pilikude.

Paduvannuru village

The important places of the Paduvannuru village are: Sulya Padavu, Kannadka, Pairupuni, Maikuli, Sanagolu, Kudkadi, Kavunja, Padadka, Sanjakadi, Meginamane, Kelaginamane, Mudayuru, Kutyala, Mînavu, Konettota, Monadka, Karpudi Kana, Mulipadpu, Nekraje, Patladka, Muguli, Pundikayi, Sarakutelu, Ambatemule and Artikaje.

Badagannuru village

The important places of the Badagannuru village are: Parmale, Peralu, Chandakodlu, Koyla, Talenji, Bîrnodi, Ulaya, Kudre, Majalu, Badakayuru, Aṇile, Kukkaje, Saravu, Padekarya, Patte, Mudipinadka, Kudpila, Mundaje, alantadka, Nadumane, Sareppadi, Nekkare, Kemma Nadka, Perigeri, Mundakotti, Sonangiri, Tulasiyadka and Areppadi.

Surrounded by forests, hillocks and plantations, Parmale was famous for paddy cultivation. Now areca plantation is in abundance here. There are around 1500 households of various communities: Brahmin, Bunt, Billava, Gowda, Mera, Manna, Baira, Karada Brahmin, Havyaka, Sthanika, Marathi, Ganiga, Konkani, Muslim, and Christian.

Kuvetoṭa

At a short distance from Peralu Bailu, there is a house believed to be that of Jevu Kedage. There is a room where she is believed to have taken birth and there is a swing in the room. The *kuve* means a cave, a waterfowl or a kind of plant. A Brahmin family has been living here. At present the family of one Vasudeva Rao resides here. It seems, about a hundred years ago there was a traditional village school here. Then it became a proper school and it is now a government school. It is said that a *palle kad* (a forest of wild *palle* seeds) enveloped the area. It seems there was a forest of *kadinja* or *kalanja* seeds (*Guilandina bonduc*) also. There is a shrine of Pilibuta, and at a short distance from here, there is Kuve Shastara temple.

Gejjegiri Nandana Hittilu

Gejjegiri Nandana Hittilu is believed to be the house of Sayana Baidya. It is also called Pittilu, Bittl, or Hittilu. This is the house where Sayana Baidya took Jevu Kedage after he

found her in the Sankamale forest. She grew up here and when she was assimilated into the Billava community, she became Deyi Baidedi. Her marriage was arranged with Kantana Baidya of Kangu Hittilu and Koti Chennaya grew up in Gejjegiri Nandana Hittilu. Sayana Baidya was an expert in folk medicine and Deyi Baidedi learnt folk medicine from him. In Parmale, there were Vaidya or Baidya families. Duma Poojary, Vishvanatha Poojary and Kudkadi Ammu Poojary are the famous medicine men of the modern generation of the Poojary or the Billava community.

Saroli Saimanja Katte

The Saroli Saimanja Katte was a platform constructed around a *saroli* tree (*Aporosa lindleyana*) at Gejjegiri Nandana Hittilu. Offerings to folk deities used to be kept on this platform. Near the platform, there is a shrine of the folk deity, Jumadi, and Jumadi was the family deity of Sayana Baida. It is believed that Parmale Ballala sent his palanquin to this place to bring Deyi to his manor house. The local people of the area point to the place where the pole-bearers kept down the palanquin. The place is also called Eraje Barke.

Kuve Shastara

Kuve Shastara and Vishnumurthy temple are at a distance of one km from Kuve Tota. It seems there was a cave at Bajappila, near Kannadka. The cave is believed to be the place of origin of the deity, Kuve Shastara. The Brahmins of the Kuve Tota house are the hereditary managers of Kuve Shastara temple. During the time of Parmale Ballala, the temple must have belonged to Sathanika or Shivalli Brahmins. In the inner courtyard of the temple, there is a shrine of Pūmani and Kinnimani. The temple faces to the west. Manoj Rai Peralu is the manager of the temple. Formerly Kudkadi Bunt Guttu house was managing the temple and then the management of the temple went to Bellippadi Bunt Guttu.

Pilibuta

Pilibuta is the assistant or the minister of the Ullakulu folk deities of Parmale. He is also called Elnad Daiva or Rajan Daiva. There is a *paddana* that narrates the diffusion of the deity from the region of Periya Badakayi Gange to the south. According to another version, Pilibuta was the folk deity that followed Marakuru Bhatta and his sister, Javakke Madimal. In Parmale, Pilibuta receives worship as the prime minister of the Ullakulu deities. In Vitla, Pilibuta is called Malaraya and he receives worship as an assistant to the Ullakulu folk deities. (Patali: 1989: 16–18)

Tīrtada Kall

There is a grove, Bantaje to the south of Parmale. In the grove, there are two large stones at a short distance from Nerlampadi. One is called *tīrtada kall*. It has a large hole and its mouth is the size of a water pot. According to the local people, there was water in

the hole. In the past, there was a tradition of carrying holy water from the hole to the Kuve Shastara temple in the month of Kumbha (the eleventh solar month).

Mayilti *kai paḍdina jāg*

In the grove lying in the vicinity of Parmale, there is Mayila Kote. Mayilu was the woman engaged by the Ballala to harvest the crop of his Bakimar field. There was a competition to find out who was the best harvester. The Ballala had announced that he would gift a piece of land to whosoever won, and Mayilu won. However, he did not honour his promise. When she was catching crabs, she entered the realm of *māya* (disappeared into the invisible world). The place where she disappeared is called *Mayilti kai paḍdina jāg* (lit. the place where Mayilti put her hand). The place is near Nerlampadi.

Sankoltimar

The Ballala was imprisoned by his enemies. He escaped with the chains around his feet. He fell down utterly exhausted at Kangu Hittilu, a place located to the north of his manor house. One Abdulla noticed him, removed his chains and made arrangement to carry him to the Parmale manor house. The paddy field where the Ballala fell down came to be called Sankoltimar or Ankole Kanda.

Sankole Abdulla

The person who helped the Ballala came to be called Sankole Abdulla. He was given a piece of land for his service as a gift. Now a mosque stands on the land gifted to Abdulla.

Badinar Chavadi

There is a shrine of the Ullakulu deities on the east of the manor house of the Ballala. When the Ullakulu deities came to the Parmale manor house, they were welcomed by the mother of the Ballala. She informed the deities that her son had been imprisoned by his enemies. The deities got him released. As a token of gratitude, he constructed a shrine for them, installed their statues and made a cart from a jackfruit tree for them. The cart was destroyed in a fire in 1981, it seems.

Gundye-timar

The front field of the manor house of the Ballala is called Gundye-timar. It was a paddy field where you could sow twelve *mudis* of paddy seeds. One night, the white horse of the Ullakulu deities grazed in the cultivated Gundye-timar field and destroyed the crop. This created a suspicion in the mind of the Ballala. He wanted to test the powers of the deities. On the day of the festival of the deities, there was a ritual of keeping the headgear of the Bhuta impersonator on a rock at Mudayuru. When the horse-borne impersonator of the deities was returning after the ritual, the Ballala shot the impersonator, thrice. He was helped

by four people: A Ballala, a Shivalli Brahmin, a Maniyani and a Malayali Billava. The deities caught two of the bullets and threw one of them into a field. The field, therefore, came to be called Gundye-timar field. Gundye – timar literally means a paddy field (*timar*) lying at a depth (*gundi*). It seems because of the curse of the deities the aforesaid communities were not allowed to reside in Parmale. It is said that the curse of the deities was responsible for the eventual destruction of the Parmale Ballala's clan.

Sona Nema Chavadi

Sona Nema Chavadi is said to be the 'hall of justice' of the Ballala. It seems close to this place, there was the palace of the Ballala. There are historical remains of the palace. There is an abandoned well. According to a legend, the Ballala ran away after dropping into the well — a *balla*-ful of nose rings, a golden trough with a handle, a serving spoon, dinner plates and a large clay vessel. If a stone is thrown into the well, a cobra would come out, it is said.

House of Budyanta

There are historical remains believed to be of Budyanta in the grassland of Peralu: There is a foundation of a house, a well and a shrine of Pilibuta. The shrine was renovated in 1929.

The place where Budyanta was killed

A tar road passes between the *kambula* field of Koti Chennaya and Budyanta. On one side of the road, there is the field of Koti and Chennaya and on the other side, the field of Budyanta. The road that passes through this place is regarded as the place where Budyanta was killed.

Swimming Pool

In the vicinity of Badinaru Chavadi there is a pond near a mosque. About 20 years ago when the Byaris living near the mosque dug a well, they found a large pond with a boundary wall of stones. This pond must have been of the Parmale Manor. The local people say that it was the swimming pool of the Ballala.

Mosque

There is a mosque near the shrine of the Ullakulu folk deities. When harvesting takes place in the Gundye-timar field, paddy ears (spikes) are carried to the mosque. After completing the harvesting in most area of the Gundye-timar field, a small area is left out and a woman of a Dalit community has to carry and offer a few paddy ears to the mosque. The Byari priest of the mosque offers betel leaves and an areca nut. If this ritual is not performed it is feared that the cobra would enter the field and hide in some bundles of the harvested paddy stalks when they are carried for threshing.

Batteri Gudde

Behind the shrine of the Ullakulu folk deities and the mosque, there is a hillock called Batteri Gudde. At the time of the feudatory rulers, there used to be rest houses and there were sentry posts at the top of the hill. Fort and its bastion became Batteri Gudde and the hilltop where a shrine of a folk deity was located became Māḍada Gudde. People say that the hillock near Ishvaramangala was the place where the Ullakulu folk deities are believed to have taken rest; therefore, it is called Madada Gudde.

Madanduru Mathanturu

After constructing a shrine for Ullakulu folk deities, the Ballala set up a new manor house. A Guttubarike was assigned the responsibility of taking care of the tutelary spirit, Prajapati of the Parmale province. This household wanted to arrange the marriage of a maiden of their household with Parmale Ballala, who was a bachelor then. He married a young maiden, Kinnimanigo of the Madanduru manor house and she became the queen of the Parmale manor house.

Ambara Padavu

Ambara Padavu is located at Kannadka, a short distance from the present day Sulya Padavu. There is a platform here, where the Ullakulu folk deities are believed to have established themselves. The heroes, Pūmani Kinnimani assuming different forms, believed to have roamed in the Ambara grassland, searching for a permanent place to establish themselves.

Sulya Padavu

People say that Sulya Padavu was originally Shula Padavu. There is a *garodi* of Baiderlu and it is the only shrine of Koti Chennaya in Parmale.

Eru Kadappu

Eighteen kms from Puttur, in Keyyaru village, there is a place called Madavu and there is a river by the same name. In 1938 a bridge was constructed. Before the construction of the bridge, things used to be ferried across the river on the back of *erus* (bullocks / he-buffaloes). Therefore, the place came to be called Eru Kadapu (*kadapu*, to cross). Mudavu is the newly acquired name for the same place; according to a legend, the forces of Padumale (Parmale) Ballala went to the Enmur battle by this passage (Eru Kadapu).

Sunkada Katte

The historical remains of the Sunkada Katte (toll-booth) of the Koti Chennaya legend are not found anywhere. Amara was under the control of the Ballala of Panja. The Sunkada Katte must have been located before Aravattege or Dharma Nira Katte (where travellers

were provided drinking water as a charity). From Kayarumaru to Nintikall, it was the common border of Panja, Enmur and Bellare. Even Bellare was under the control of the Panja ruler. Therefore, the toll platform must have been at Sankesha of Panja. Sankesha comes before Sheni.

Dharma Nira Katte

There are a few historical remains to establish the fact that there was a Dharma Nira Katte or an Aravattige at Dharmadka of the Kalmadka village: There are historical remains of the house of the village head and the house of the astrologer, Ayya or Joyisa near Aravattige, and there is a grove of a folk deity. Aravattige was at Bommeti of the Boliyuru village. Now it has become Kalmadka. People claim that there was a centre for learning here. The centre (*adka*) for learning (*kaliyu*) has become Kalmadka. On the way from Kalmadka to the manor house of Panja Ballala, there are historical remains of eight platforms (*kaṭṭe*). It is believed that these platforms were on the path used by the children of the ruling families as they went to the learning centre. Close to Kalmadka, there was a traditional village school. The British converted it into an aided government school. Then the school was shifted to Kalmadka.

This was what the astrologer informed Koti and Chennaya,

'When you go from here, you will meet one Kantakka of Kayermar. She will help you. Regard my fortune-telling competence as entirely bogus if you do not meet her.' (D. G. Nadka: 1999)

Nelli Kāḍ (Grove of Stone-berries or gooseberries)

Nelli Kad is the common border of the Panja, Enmur and Bellare provinces. The sentries of Panja used to be deployed at the border. To catch intruders, they laid traps in the trees, on the ground and on stones. They beat up the people who came near the border. Kantakka[5] knew this and she cautioned Koti Chennaya accordingly. There is a place called Kayarumaru near Nelli Kad and near Kayarumaru, there is Mupperi. During the British rule, the Muppa Erya Guttu became the Mupperiya village. It is believed that the Muppa Erya Guttu was a prominent feudatory state during the time of Bangarasa rulers.

Kayermar

In anicient times, there were no survey stones to mark the boundary; instead, trees, rocks or other physical objects were used to identify the borders. *Kayerda Mara* (a poison nut tree or strychnine tree) became Kayermar. The word *mar* also means a paddy field. Kayermar was the place where the sentries of the Ballalas of Panja, Bellare, and Enmur kept constant vigil . Therefore the place must have got the name Kayer or Kayar. There is a *garadi* of Koti Chennaya here.

Nintikall

Nintikall is a junction that you get as you go to Subramanya from Puttur either via Kaniyuru or Bellare. From Nintikall, as you go by the Bellare road, at a distance of 200 meters, you find a leaning stone pillar under the foot of a poison nut tree. Bellare is in the Murulya village.

The heroes, Kinnimani and Pūmani descend from the *ghats*. When they look down from the Kumara hillock, they notice that the flag hoisting ceremony at the Subramanya temple has been completed. Kinnimani shoots with an arrow and breaks the flagpole of the temple into two pieces. A fight breaks out between Kinnimani - Pūmani and others. Kinnimani lifts a stone of a man's length and goes to hit others. Finally the heroes are pacified. From there, with the stone they go to the Panja province. Kinnimani keeps the stone under the foot of a juice-producing tree. This stone is called Nintikall.

Then the heroes seek shelter in the house of one Enmur Gowda. On the following day they disappear from there. Thus the first house where the Ullakulu deities establish themselves in Tulunadu came to be called Arambi. Later, a storeyed shrine was constructed at Alengar for the deities. The land was gifted by the Enmur manor house for the maintenance of the shrine and is called Ullakle Adi. The officiating priest of the shrine is an Arambi Gowda.

There is a belief that there is a treasure below the Nintikall stone pillar. Once upon a time it seems if someone wanted some golden ornaments for an important function he would make on a top section of a banana leaf offerings of white rice and flowers to the stone pillar and offer a prayer. Following day he would find the ornaments at the site. After the function the ornaments were kept back at the site. Once, one person defaulted and did not return the ornaments and the supernatural event has ceased to occur since.

You get many such stories here. For important functions, poor people used to borrow ornaments from the rich. There must have been an efficient arrangement to facilitate this. Then there must have been instances of cheating. As a result, lending ornaments to others must have been discontinued.

It seems a chieftain of Kodagu shook a huge rock with the help of his royal elephant to unearth the hidden treasure. There were giant bees in the crevices of the rock. They started stinging the elephant. The elephant ran and as it ran its tail fell down at a place called Kulayitodi. The place where the tail fell became Birala. Then the elephant ran and fell dead near the tombs of Koti and Chennaya. The place where it fell dead came to be called Anyala.

The Nintikall junction lies at the foot of two trees—a poison-nut tree and a Takote (the Indian squill) tree. For the last fifteen years, one Puttana Gowda lights lamps on the day of Sankramana (end of a Tulu month) at the site. Before him, a member of the Arembi household used to light the lamps. The place where the Nintikall junction is loacted is the border of Panja. The other side of the border is Bellare. In Bellare also there was a platform

where travellers were supplied with drinking water. When Koti and Chennaya came here from the Nelli forest, people of Arembi greeted them waving ceremonial lamps. Before Koti and Chennaya reached Arembi, the astrologer had told them their future, it is said.

Uru Sagu

Uru Sagu is ten km from Nintikall. Arembi Gowda took Koti and Chennaya to the house of a Billava for an overnight stay. The Billava was a confidant of Parmale Ballala. The house where Koti and Chennays stayed came to be called Uru Sagu. They came to Uru Sagu from Nintikall and then went to Marduradka. In Marduradka, they played with a group of cowherds. When they became thirsty, they overturned a rock and drank clean water found under the rock. The waterhole from which they drank water and the displaced rock are still there. Kinnidaru's house, Kallembidola was at a stone's throw from Marduradka and hence they proceeded towards the house of Kinnidaru.

Twins

In Uru Sagu, there are more Billava households than the households of other communities. The Billavas of Uru Sagu are very strong and sturdy. Another surprizing characteristic of the Billava families of this place is the high incidence of twin births. Pijavu is near Uru Sagu. It seems when Koti and Chennaya went to the battle field, a fighter from each household joined them. From one Billava household twins joined the forces of Koti and Chennaya. Therefore, the household is blessed with twins since then, it is said. (Jaganatha Rai: 1992)

Pijavu Budu

Pijavu Budu is one of the residences of Enmur Ballala. It was the manor house of Manju Pergade, who was in the army of Enmur Ballala. Enmur Ballala got Pijavu as a gift from the Bellare *māgane*. In the area around Pijavu Budu, there is a serpent grove. The path to the grove is difficult to negotiate. There are rare figures in the grove and one of them is a unique statue of *naga* deity.

Marduradka

Marduradka is vast grassland and it is in Edamangala. Koti and Chennaya poked fun at the cowherd boys grazing the cattle at Edamangala. The farmers from Dolpadi, Kallembi, Enadka and Maroli used to bring their cattle to the Edamangala grassland for grazing.

Marduru Budu

Marduru Budu was a subordinate manor house of Panja Ballala, which he won in a battle. The gymnasium run by Chandugidi was in the compound of Marduru Budu. Koti Chennaya accompanied by Payya Baidya, their brother – in – law, came to Marduru Budu

to meet Panja Ballala. When Chandugidi saw Koti Chennaya, out of fear, he hid himself in one of the rooms of the gymnasium.

Kutaje

After playing with the cowherd boys at Marduradka of the Nerenki province, Koti and Chennaya came to Kutaje. They could not get water to drink. With the points of their swords, they overturned a rock, dug a pond and drank water. The place where they created the waterhole and quenched their thirst is, Kutaje.

Kallembidola

On the Puttur—>Darbe—>Subramnya road, after crossing the railway line at Edamangala, at a distance of four kms by a mud road, you reach Kallembidola. Kallembidola is at a short distance from Kutaje. Kallembidola was the house of Payya Baidya and Kinnidaru. Presently a Billava family resides here and the family claims that it is the same house in which Kinnidaru and her husband Payya Baidya lived. The family traces its origin to Kinnidaru and Payya Baidya. The family does not want to shift elsewhere because it wants to preserve the house. There is a small inside door and it is believed that Payya Baidya fled from the house through this door when he saw Koti Chennaya. The area around Kallembidola was under the control of Panja Ballala and he acquired it by his own effort. Apart from this property, the Banga king had gifted him seventeen villages.

There is a replica of the swing inside the house in which Koti and Chennaya are believed to have sat when they visited their sister. There is the Padma Katte outside the house where Koti and Chennaya are believed to have rested. The red coconut palm of the Koti Chennaya legend is not there; instead a coconut sapling has been planted.

Panja Garadi

As you go by the Puttur—>Darbe—>Subramnya road, one km to the south of the Panja bus stand, near the Panchalingeshvara temple, there is the Panja Garadi. The management of the *garadi* is in the hands of the leaders of the Panja province.

There is a large piece of land in front of the *garadi* and near the *garadi* there are remains of a village office. The village office is said to be of the Kodagu ruler. Koti Chennaya Paddana refers to the existance of Pēr Permbodi Garadi at Panja even at the time of Kemara Ballala.

Kamila

Kamila was the house of Chandugidi. It is near Panja, on the Panja- Kadaba road. At Kamila, there are remains of the house of Chandugidi. This is the place where Pilikunji stopped the people of Kadaba as they fled with the royal sword and the crown of the then Enmur Ballala. Pilikunji took back the sword and the crown. There was a fight on that

account and hence the place got the name Jagalatadka (*jagala*, a fight). During those days, at Enmur, there was no mosque for the Pilikunji family to offer worship but it was there at Kadaba. Once, when Pilikunji went to the mosque at Kadaba, the Muslim youth of Kadaba were not there in the mosque. He felt insulted, and he returned immediately. On the way, at Kamila, he was confronted by his enemies.

Kudpa

Kudpa was the house where Chandugidi imprisoned Koti and Chennaya. The members of the Kudpa household were strong persons. They provoked Koti Chennaya and picked up a fight. They could not face Koti Chennaya. Therefore, hatching a plot, Chandugidi tried to capture them at Guggurumalya or Guggurumale. The members of the Kudpa clan still live here.

Dindumale Dibba

Koti and Chennaya as they leave Kudpa, become victims of treachery once again. The Panja of that time is the present day Panja Bailu of the Pambettadi village. There was a palace here. It was constructed to imprison Koti and Chennaya.

To the south of the Panja Garadi, there are historical remains of the Panja manor house. The Panja Budu of M.B. Ballala is located here. There is a paddy field behind the present *budu* and there are historical remains of the manor house of Kemara Ballala near the field. There is a highland which is now covered with bamboo plants and thickets. It seems this was Dindumale — the place where Koti and Chennaya were incarcerated. But there are no historical remains in this place. Local people maintain that there was a tunnel in the middle of the thicket of the bamboo plants. The tunnel is called Guggurumalya. They further claim that there are many stone slabs and square stones at Guggurumalya. According to Kunjappa Sahukar, a former village messenger, Koti and Chennaya might have escaped from the prison through the tunnel.

There is another distinctive characteristic of this half-acre highland. In recent years, people of the area play football on this ground. As a result a *dibba* of mud and stones has formed and hence the place is called Dindumale Dibba (*dibba*, a mound).

A Brahmin family purchased some land in this area and organized the festival of Koti and Chennaya. The family organized the festival for three years and then discontinued it. In 1962 another branch of the same family came forward to organize the festival. It organized the festival for some years and it also discontinued the festival.

Gadi Kall

Koti and Chennaya who escape from Guggurumalya come to the Tuppekall forest. Chennaya shifts the border-stone (*gadi kall*) demarcating the border of Enmur and Panja to its original place. (The Ballala of Panja had encroached on the land of Enmur by shifting

the border-stone.) They meet Kinni Chennaya here. The border-stone is believed to have been at the present day Kalmadka of the Mucchila village, on the Puttur - Subramanya road.

Ujirigundi

After shifting the border stone, Koti and Chennaya feel thirsty. When they come down from the highland, they see a stream. It is said that they drank water with the help of their swords and then increased the flow of water. Ujirigundi is a muddy waterhole and it never dries up. Now the village Panchayat of Panja has laid a pipeline to supply drinking water from the waterhole to the people of the area.

Nela papu nula kaisang

On the way to Kemmale when Koti and Chennaya want to cross the Kalleri river, they notice a suspension bridge with a rope tied across (*nela papu nula kaisang*) to support the users. They cross the river with the help of the bridge and climb the Kemmale hill and make the offering to their family deity, Bermer. Although Kinni Chennaya is with them, he refuses to climb the hill saying that only the dead go there. While returning, they meet the foster mother of Sayana Baidya. When she sees them, she sighs and embraces them. She is on her deathbed. They give her water; she drinks water; talks to them and dies. On account of her death, they observe death pollution. After the pollution days are over, with the help of Kinni Chennaya, they go to meet Deva Ballala of Enmur.

Kemmale

According to the Koti Chennaya Paddana, Kemmale is Kempu Kepulaje or Kemmate Kariya (a hillock). At a distance of two km from the *garodi* at Enmur, they go to meet Deva Ballala of Enmur. On the hillock, there is a forest with thick vegetation. In the forest, there are two recently built shrines, one of Bermer and the other of Ullakulu. There is a stone representing the folk deity, Panjurli. There are two images of wild boar on either side of the Panjurli stone. At a closer look the stone images appear to be male and female partners since there are images of four piglets near the images of the pair. Apart from these, there are other smaller stone images of piglets, probably placed here by the devotees as offerings. A short distance from the stone images, there is a stone representing the Purusha folk deity.

The local people maintain that on the hilltop, there were remains of the foundation of the original shrine of Bermer. At present the hillock is called Hemala Betta. There is no direct passage to the hillock; there is a circuitous route. For the convenience of the devotees, shrines of Ullakulu and Bermer deities have been constructed near the Enmur Garodi.

Enmur Būḍu

Enmur Budu of the Koti Chennaya legend controlled seven villages. During the British

rule, the manor of Deva Ballala was merged with the Aivattoklu village and a member of the Deva Ballala household was appointed the village head.

There are historical remains of the Enmur Budu of the time of Koti and Chennaya. The journey of Koti and Chennaya ended here. The mosque of this place is still called the Enmur mosque. The Muslim heroes played an important role in protecting the borders of Enmur. It is mentioned that Pilikunji was a contemporary of Koti and Chennaya. It is unfortunate that this has not received much attention.

Ayyanuru

When Koti and Chennaya were under the protection of Deva Ballala, he gifted them Ayyanuru, a place near the border of Panja. Koti Chennaya lived here for five years or so. They must have cultivated the area.

Charvaka

When Koti and Chennaya were residing in Ayyanuru, they paid a visit to the house of a fellow member of the caste at Charvaka. There is a house here called the Enmur house. The place must have got the name Enmur because of the name and fame of Koti and Chennaya. When they visited the family, Koti and Chennaya were already very famous. From there, Koti and Chennaya believed to have visited Belandur and Savanur. At Savanur there was a fight between two groups and Koti and Chennaya sided with one of the groups and helped it win. Therefore the place came to be called Ankatadka (*anka*, a fight, a duel). There is a new Koti Chennaya Garodi at Korya of Naduvail of Charvaka.

Nadka

Nadka is the place where Deva Ballala's manor house stood once. It seems the Ballala used to come here daily and worship Nagabermer. Since it was difficult for Koti and Chennaya to climb the Kemmale hill daily to offer worship to Naga Bermer, Deva Ballala is said to have constructed a shrine of Bermer near his manor house at Nadka. According to the local people, Bermer disappeared from Nadka turning his face to the south because of the grief at the death of Koti and Chennaya in the battle and he appeared on the southern hillock beyond the grassland of Nadka. Now a Gowda family has constructed a shrine of the Nagabrahma deity. There is a platform, Naga Katte, at the original place of the Nagabrahma deity.

Tuppekad

Tuppekad, which is now in the Aivottoklu village, was the place where Koti Chennaya went hunting. A large portion of Tuppekad really belongs to Panja. After hunting, the meat of the hunted animals used to be distributed among the villagers. Hunting was once a religious practice and also an occasion for fun and enjoyment. After many years Koti Chennaya went for hunting here.

Kadti kayer

When the hunters from Enmur are preparing to cut the hunted boar into pieces, the people of Panja arrive. Chennaya removes his girdle - and with the help of the girdle drags the boar to the territory belonging to Enmur. Seeing his feat, scared, the people of Panja run away. Chennaya takes out his sword and charges at them. Since he cannot get them, he gives vent to his anger on a poison nut tree and hits the tree with his sword. Because of the force of the attack, a big hole appears in the tree. Thereafter, the place gets the name Kadti Kayer (*kayer*, a strychnine tree; *kaḍpu*, to cut, to slash). There was a belief that if a person suffering from a disease like fever was passed from one end of this hole to the other, he would be cured of his ailment. Actually, this place is not suitable for hunting wild boars. The ideal place would have been the Kemmale hill. It seems that this place was chosen deliberately to provoke the people of Panja. Local people say that the poison nut tree was there till 1970. It was felled in the course of widening the road. You are also told that the person who felled the tree died, omitting blood.

Karikala

Karikala is a plane grassland in the middle of *Karikad* - a place with thick vegetation. It was the place where hunters used to cut the hunted animals into pieces. It is associated with a fight on account of hunting a wild boar by Koti and Chennaya and the place is now called Karikala.

Death of Koti Chennaya

Padumale (Parmale) Ballala came with his fighters via Erukadapu to participate in the Panja – Enmur battle. Chandugidi and Kemara Ballala mobilized their forces. There must have been a thousand fighters from the Panja's side, and there were around three hundred men led by Koti Chennaya. Manju Pergade of Pijavu, the nephew of Devu Ballala led one group of fighters and Koti and Chennaya, the other group.

In the Eryangala paddy field, Manju Pergade fights the forces of Panja with great courage and dies. At the Anka paddy field, Koti and Chennaya confront the fighters of Parmale. When Manju Pergade dies, the fighters of Panja come running towards Koti Chennaya. By that time most of the fighters of Parmale have been killed; however, some of them escape. Koti and Chennaya rush towards Manju Pergade. At that time, around three hundred fighters encircle Koti and Chennaya. Koti and Chennaya beat them black and blue.

In the meanwhile, Chandugidi plans a move. He knows that Koti and Chennaya cannot be defeated if they are together. Therefore he divides his forces into two groups and tells the groups to attack Koti and Chennaya on two fronts. Koti and Chennaya are forced to fight on two different fronts and in the bargain they become separated. Koti comes across Parmale Ballala. On seeing him, Koti lays down his sword and offers salutations. Just then,

Parmale Ballala shoots him with an arrow. Injured Koti falls down. When Koti falls down, the soldiers fighting along with Koti run to Chennaya, who is fighting at some other place. Hiding, Chandugidi shoots an arrow at Chennaya and it hits Chennaya's leg. Koti notices that Chennaya has been hit and he shouts, 'Chennaya, look behind.' Chennaya throws away the arrow and launches an attack on Chandugidi and cuts off his head.

Manjalpade

The mortal remains of Koti and Chennaya are carried for performing the last rites. The people carrying the bodies become tired and lay the bodies on a stone slab. Then they start discussing the arrangement to be made to perform the last rites. They hear the sound of the stone slab splitting. When they inspect the slab, they find that it has broken into two. The crack in the stone slab meant that the twins want their last rites to be performed separately. Thus, their last rites are performed separately in the paddy field of Koti's manor house. The place where their last rites were performed is half a km from the Kallu Katta Budu.

The reference to Manjalpade is found in another context. Chennaya drags the wild boar that he has shot down to Manjalpade (*pade,* a rock).

Tombs of Koti Chennaya

In the Enmur Garodi complex, there are two tombs of Koti and Chennaya in the shape of a tower. Some 60 years ago, there were only two mounds. It seems some traces of bones were found in the mounds. When the place was excavated, a stone slab was found. It appears that one of the bodies was kept under the stone slab. You are told that since further excavation was not possible, the tombs were constructed on the mounds. Another part of the legend is that the weapons of Koti and Chennaya were buried near the mounds. An anthill has grown around the place where their weapons are believed to have been buried. It is also believed that there are things belonging to Koti and Chennaya in the anthill. The place cannot be dug up; if it is dug, a serpent would come out, says Narayana Rai (1990). No one goes near the anthill.

Throughout Tulunadu the mounds of the ancestors of prestigious families are found in the paddy fields. In some places burning lamps are placed on the mounds. The tradition of constructing tombs for the dead came from Egypt. The conception of a mound must have originated in the *stupa* of Buddhists structure.

Katta Budu / Bidu

Katta Budu is the renovated *budu* (manor house) of the descendants of Enmur Ballala. It was the manor house of the heir-apparent, Rukma Ballala, the nephew of Enmur Ballala. It is said that the then feudatory chief of the Kolla Mogaru Katta Chavadi shifted his residence to the Enmur Budu as desired by Rukma Ballala and Rukma Ballala went to

Katta Chavadi. The (Ballala) chief constructed tombs for Koti and Chennaya. Now organizing the festivals and ceremonies of Koti and Chennaya is the privilege of the Katta Budu household. Katta Budu Laxminarayana Rai is the hereditary manager of the Edmur Garodi and the privilege of offering milk to Koti Chennaya is of Ramakrishna Rai—a senior member of the Katta Budu household. The members of Katta Budu family are god-fearing persons. They also render help to the people of the region.

There is a shrine of the Ullakulu deities in the vicinity of Katta Budu. It is regarded as one of the most ancient shrines. At the time of the annual *nema* festival of Koti Chennaya, the sacred objects of Koti Chennaya deities are carried in a procession from the shrine of the Ullakulu deities to the (Enmur) *garodi*. During the night-long festival, the impersonators of Koti and Chennaya, in a state of trance, come to the shrine of the Ullakulu deities. Then there is a ritual of offering milk to the Koti and Chennaya deities at the veranda of the Katta Budu by a senior member of the household. When Koti and Chennaya went hunting at Sheni they invoked the Ullakulu deities and hence their hunt was successful. Then they started offering daily worship to the Ullakulu deities, it is said.

Aivattoklu

Ayyanuru was the house of the royal priest of Enmur Ballala. The present *guttu* house of Enmur is the same *guttu* house of history. There was a practice according to which a representative of the Enmur Katta Budu arrived in a procession to the Mundasere paddy field at the time of the final phase of ploughing the field. Though the field belongs to a Muslim family, the ritual of planting a banana sapling in the field after sowing is still continued.

Koti and Chennaya were the army commanders of Enmur Ballala. Enmur Ballala granted them the Ayyanuru Guttu and some land at Tekkadka. The Ayyanuru house was near the manor house of Koti Chennaya. Only the remains of the Ayyanuru house can be seen now. As long as Koti and Chennaya were alive, the question of protecting Enmur did not arise. However, after their death encroachments began on the land belonging to Enmur. Therefore, Enmur Ballala made a serving member of his army—a Muslim—to reside near the place where Koti and Chennaya resided. In this area the population of Muslims has increased as a result. Muslims started residing here after 1587. Among them were Kunji Palli and his brother. They lived in Aivottoklu. Their grandfather became famous as Mammali Ajja (*ajja*, grandfather). He was given the name of the founder of the family, Mammali or Mammad. Thus, Muslims developed a cordial relationship with the family of Enmur Ballala. Enmur Ballala constructed a mosque for them and also gifted paddy fields. During the rule of petty kings, Muslims used to be taken in a procession to the venue of the festival of folk deities.

The present day Aivattoklu is near the place where the *budu* of Deva Ballala stood once. We are told that because of a fight among the brothers of the Muslim family, the *budu* caught fire and the important copper plate inscriptions were destroyed. The British

appointed in 1800 two persons from the two prominent households of the region as *patels* – one from a Muslim household and the other from a Bunt household. Since the newly created Aivattoklu village belonged to a single family viz. Enmur Budu, the position of the village *patel* was given to the family of the Enmur Katta Budu.

Some people have wrongly recorded that Koti and Chennaya were given different places to set up residences and Aivattoklu was the *budu* of Koti.

Enmur village prior to 1800

The Aivattoklu region: Ayyanuru paddy field—>Mundasare Guttu—>Eriyangala paddy field—>Enmur Budu—>Ekkadka; the Enmur Region—>the battle field—>Katta Enmur Budu of Yuvaraja—>Patte Mane—>Guttu—>Parari Field—> Arembi—>Nintikall

Places traversed by Koti and Chennaya

a. In the physical domain

Puttur (Region) —>Parmale Budu—>Eraje Barke—>Anilaje Kambula—>Tirtodi Kambula—>Sankamale Forest—>Padma Katte—>House of Budyanta—>Ballala Chavadi—>Gundyetimar—>Ambara Padava—>Madavu—>Eru Kadavu—>Perlampadi—>Sunkada Katte; Sulya (Region)—>Kubaladi or Sheni—>Chokkadi, Ullakulu—>Dharmadka Aravattige—>Kayarumaru—>Nelli Kad—>Nintikall—>Urusagu—>Pijavu—>Mardhuradka—>Kutaje—>Kalembidola—>Mardhuru Budu—>Mardhuru Garadi Shale—>Anekall Vardha Kinnikall Road—>Kamila—>Kudpa—>Panja Budu—>Guggurumalya—>Border stone—>Ujirigundi—>Aiyanuru—>Nula Papu Nela Kaisang—>Shrine of Bermer, Kemmale—>Enmur Budu—>Kadti Kayer—>Karikala—>Tuppe Kad—>Paddy fields where the Enmur battle took place—>Ankada Gadde—>Ekkadka—>Eriyangala—>Ayyanuru paddy field—>Death (of Koti Chennaya) in the Panja battle—>Manjalpade—>Tombs at Enmur.

b. In the spiritual domain

Border of Suratkal—>Tala Kaveri—>Enmur Garodi

Notes

1. There are many sayings about Bunt Ballalas: *Bante sorkunda ballale, olle sorkunda mandeli* (If a Bunt turns insolent, he becomes a Ballala, and if a water-snake turns audicious, it becomes a viper, Koragappa Poojary: 1989); *bar ballaleg duru kundacchig* (the Ballala got the paddy; but Kundachhi birds are blamed for the loss of paddy.)
2. The Ballalas who figure in the Koti Chennaya Paddana are not Jains. The Ballalas of Vitla, Chipparu, Paivalike and the Ballalas of Narampadi and Mulleri of the Kumbale region are not Jains. Since it is believed that some of the Bunts embraced Jainism, the members of the above households

must have also embraced Jainism. Nowhere is it said that Domba Heggade of Vitla was a Jain. Some of these Ballalas (referred to above) because of their contact with the people of Kerala have adopted the surname Verma. (Vishnu Bhat: Padekallu: 1994)

3. Parmale: The Ullakulu folk deities during the course of the festival make an oracular assertion: '(We are) worshipped from Parmale to Puttige.' Therefore, Parmale has a distinct historical identity.
4. The term *bhandari* must have been derived from the term *bhandara*. Bhandari, Achari, Odari – are the names of the castes. In Dakshina Kannada, Bhandari refers to a barber; in Uttara Kannada, it refers to the Devadiga community; Devadigas are the temple musicians (Madhavi Bhandari: 1994: 10)
5. In the region of Nelli Kad, there is a place called Kayermar and hence she must have been called Kayermar Kantakka. In A. C. Burnell's collection, she is Kayimar Kantakka.

CHAPTER - 5

GARODIS

Memorials

The tradition of erecting hero-stone shrines for those who sacrificed their lives for their masters is a very ancient tradition. In this context, Kalaburgi (1980: 85) says:

'People saw divinity in the persons who fought in the battle and became martyrs. It was a common practice to keep stones, erect, hero-stone shrines, or build temples in their memory. In modern times people place lighted lamps, incense sticks, flowers, letters, canopies, mirrors; play music and offer worship at the site where the person was martyred so that the authorities notice the sacrifice of the hero and erect an appropriate memorial for him.'

He further writes, 'The memorials for the martyred heroes and heroines used to be of three types: round-shaped stones, hero-stones and temples.' (*ibid*: 86)

During the annual festival of Koti Chennaya, the *bariyas* (making human figures using fresh leaves) representing Koti and Chennaya are made. The sanctum sanctorum of a *garodi* is the Bermere Gunḍa, which has a three-storeyed structure. There are tombs of the twins in the original Brahma-Baiderle Garodi complex at Enmur. All these are nothing but the memorials for the twin heroes.

There are three storeys or compartments in a Bermere Gunda. Bermer is installed in the lowest storey; in the middle storey, Ēḷu Ballalaru, parents of Koti Chennaya, the uncle of Koti Chennaya, are installed; and in the topmost storey, Gāḷi Devaru (Wind God) is installed.

The Bermere Gunda has the appearance of a tomb; in some places, it is called *singadana*. It resembles the hero stone-shrines found in different parts of Karnataka. There are three steps in a hero-stone. (*ibid*: 86)

There is another type of hero-stones in which the hero is shown standing with a bow or a sword. The figures of Koti, Chennaya, Okku Ballala, and Kujumba Kanja are the examples of this kind of conceptualization of a hero (*i.e.*, holding bow and arrow, a sword, or riding a horse).

The Structure of a Bermere Gunda

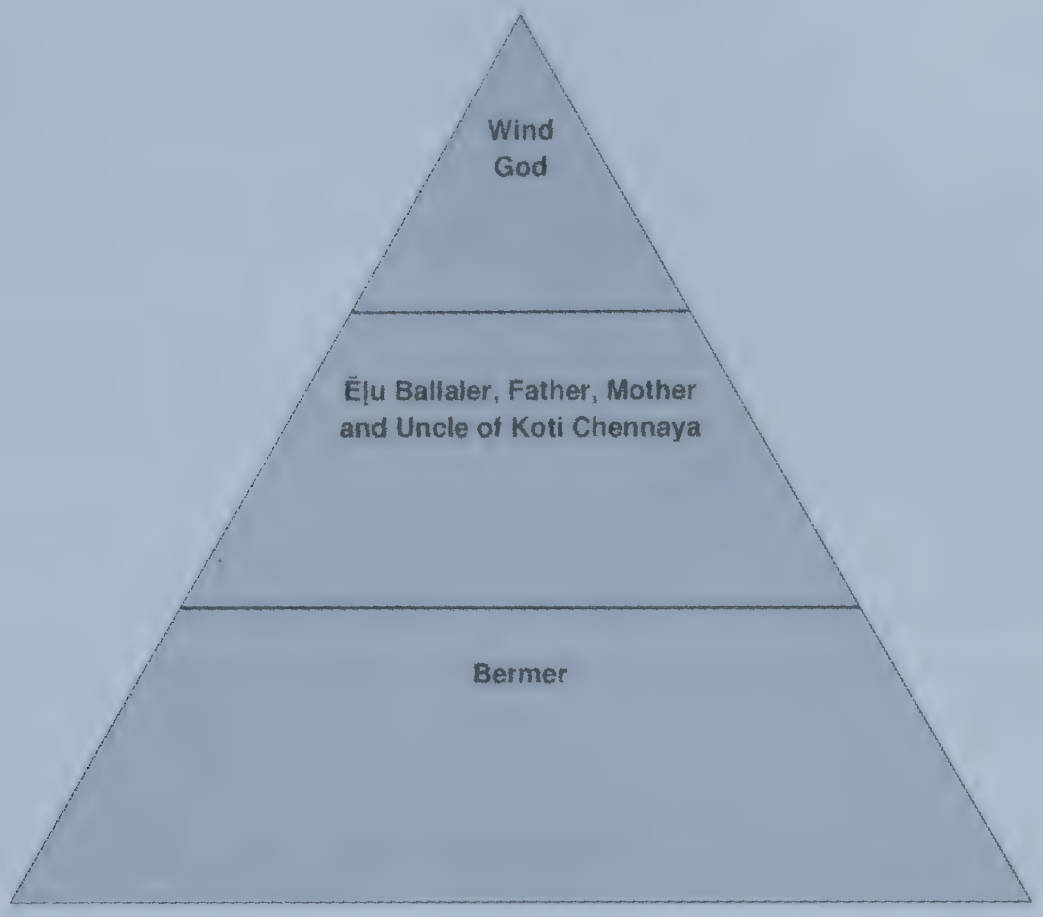


Fig 1

Antiquity of *garadis* (gymnasiums)

In Tulunadu, *garadis* must have come into existence around the 11th century. During the sunset years of the Alupa rule, there was decentralization of administration. This led to internal fights among the stakeholders. In those years of internal turmoil, there was a need for physical and military training to put down the unrest. Garadis were set up to train people in combat skills and gymnastics. Garadis produced fighters.

During the time of the Vijayanagara rulers, *garadis* were accorded a position of importance in the village and at same time, the *ēkasūtra paddhati* (?) was introduced. Hence the activities of the *garadis* were adversely affected. The Vijayanagara Empire collapsed in 1565. After the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire, the importance of *garadis* increased once again and their activities got a new lease of life.

There are many legends on the heroes who were trained in these *garadis* and who showed heroism later on. Among them, the twin heroes, Koti and Chennaya must have got into prominence at the end of the 17th century. There is a lot of evidence to suggest that *garadis* as training schools were famous once upon a time.

According to K.J. Vasanta Madhava (1990),

'The feudatory rulers of Tulunadu established 64 *garadis*, and to manage them, brought Balli Brahmins from Kerala. These Brahmins did not follow the usual ritual purity and pollution codes of Brahmins, and hence they remained separate from the Brahmins of Tulunadu. In religious ceremonies, they stressed more on the mystical practices. In the

14th century, during the Vijayanagara rule, they were given *gramīṇa samsthāna*. (?) Till the 18th century, these Brahmins did not maintain contact with the local Brahmins.'

In the oral compositions, *Vadakkan Pātu* of Kerala, there are references to the heroes of Kerala having been trained in the gymnasiums of Tulunadu. In this context, Venkataraja Puninchattaya, in an article (1985), writes, 'From the biography of the poet, Kunjan Nambyar, you learn that he was trained by Dronampalli Acharya in gymnastics in a gymnasium of Tulunadu.'

Venkataraja Puninchattaya has also documented eighteen out of the twenty two gymnastic stratagems (techniques) that were known only to the teachers of gymnastics (*tulukurukkal*) of Tulunadu. (*ibid*)

In the folk song, *Kannappan Chegavar*[1] of Puttur of Kerala,[2] the son of a Chegava, before commencing his gymnastic training at the Todavuru Garadi of Puttur seems to suggest, 'I want to go and bring an expert teacher in gymnastics from Tulunadu.'

In another folk song of Kerala, *Cheriya Aromanni*, mother of Unniyarchi tells her son:

'After I eagerly waited for a child for three years, you were born. When you were three years old, I performed your tonsure ceremony; when you were five, I got your ears pierced; when you were seven, I started your education; and I brought good teachers from Tulunadu and made them train you for three years. As a result, you became acquainted with the secrets of wrestling and acquired the education of Tulunadu.' (*ibid*)

In the folk songs of Kerala, there are accounts of the people from Kerala coming to Tulunadu to be trained in gymnastics. After the training, they went back with swords in their hands as a mark of having been trained as warriors. Such trained gymnasts were accorded a higher social position when they returned.

Tudiyadka Vishnayya writes in an article (1984) that two brothers, Chatu and Chandu came in search of jobs from Kerala to Tulunadu. The Ballala of Panne Budu of Sulya employed Chandu in his manor house. While working for the Ballala, Chandu underwent training in gymnastics in the gymnasium of the Ballala. He became an exceptional hero. Then both the brothers entered the realm of illusion and became two Nayar folk deities. They are now worshipped along with Ullakulu folk deities at Manjanadka of Mitturu of Sulya. (See Nandavara: 1988: 25)

Taccholi Chandu,[3] a popular character in the folk song, *Vadakkan Patu* is none other than Chandu of the above legend, who became a Nayar Bhuta (folk deity).

Garadi and *Kalari*

Originally, the *kalari* of Kerala and the *garadi*[4] of Tulunadu must have been similar institutions. The present day *garodis* of Tulunadu have lost their original identity, but the *kalaris* of Kerala have not.

Is the *talim* taught in the present day gymnastic schools the same as gymnastics taught

in the *garadis* of the past? No gymnastic training takes place in the modern day *garodis* of Tulunadu, which are basically places of worship. There is a possibility that after undergoing various modifications and transformations the gymnastic techniques of the past have become *talim* of modern times.

To collect details on *kalari* for the newspaper, *Karate*, a group of French researchers came to Kerala. After observing the *kalari* performances they concluded that *kalaṛi* is a form of duel that was prevalent in ancient Rome.

In the 19th century, martial art was taught as a compulsory subject in the schools of Kerala. The Portuguese captain Barbosa who visited Travancore in 1514 says,

'Every Nayar boy at the age of seven, as a part of gymnastic training, has to go to school to learn the tricks (*chamatkara vidye*) employed while wielding various weapons and also to test his skills in the use of his hands. The men folk of the Nayar community had to be always ready to show their ability in the battle field in whatever capacity as demanded by the situation.' (*The Hindu* : 1985).

There are no major differences in the architectural design of a gymnasium, a Brahma-Baiderle Garodi of Tulunadu, and a *kalari* of Kerala. Generally the dimension of a gymnasium, a Brahma-Baiderle Garodi, or a *kalari* is: length, 42 feet; width, 21 feet; and height, 15 to 20 feet.

A traditional *kalari* faces east; lengthwise it shows east-west direction and in width, north-south direction. In the southwest corner of a *kalari,* at the joint of two walls and touching the wall, there is a *pūtara*. *Putara* is the most sacred place in a *kalari* and the presiding deity of the *kalari* is installed here. The *putara* is a seat set up at a height of five feet from the ground; there are seven, arched steps leading to the *putara*. On the seventh step, the presiding deity of the *kalari* is installed. A figure in stone, with the appearance of a lotus bud, of the height of ten *angulas* and a half that reaches the seventh seat, is installed. To the north of this figure, on a square seat, a one and a half feet statue of Lord Ganesha is installed. Serpent deity is installed between the seat of Lord Ganesha and the *putara* and the serpent deity does not have an independent seat. Apart from these, near the seat of Lord Ganesh, to its north, there are two wooden seats. They are the seats placed in the memory of the teachers of *kalari*. The first seat represents the four traditions (forms) of *kalari* started by the mythological figure, Parashurama *viz*., Ugramvalli, Dronamvalli, Khoramvalli, and Ullur Turutiyad; and it also represents 21 teachers of *kalari*. The second seat represents the 'teacher-tradition'. There are specific places inside a *kalari* structure where the weapons of the war-deities – Antiviran, Bhadrakali and Vettakoruvakan are placed. (See Balakrishnan: 1995: 13)

Gymnasiums and their activities

Varamballi Garadis—Mudu Garadi and Padu Garadi

In Varamballi Garadi or Mudu Garadi, in the form of a pillar, there is a wooden statue

of Goddess Chandika Durgaparameshvari. In another corner, there is a statue of Rakteshvari and close by it, there is a statue of Lord Ganesha with ten hands, and the Siddi Devate, sitting on his laps. This figure of Lord Ganesha is a unique sculpture. Near the figure of Ganesha, there is a mask of Mahisha (*mahisha*, a buffalo). Below the mask, there is a pair of beaded heavy anklets. They are of a bigger size than the modern *gaggaras*. It seems they were used once upon a time at the time of the possession ritual. From the appearance of the layout of the Varamballi Garadi, there is no doubt that it was a place of worship of folk deities.

Close to Varamballi Garadi, there is another *garadi*, Padu Garadi, which is supposed to have been constructed not quite long ago. Many pieces of evidence are available in the Padu Garadi to establish that it was a centre for physical training once upon a time. There are some weapons supposedly used to train people in combat skills. The architecture of the Padu Garadi resembles the Kerala architecture. The wood for the construction of the *garadi* was brought by boats from Kerala.

According to one Rama Murthy of Varamballi Padu Garadi, Dronamballi Brahmins were appointed as teachers in the 108 *kalaris* of Kerala. He suggests that the deity Chandika must have been taken from here to Kerala. At Punnottu Mutt of Travancore, there is a Kali temple. In the 108 *kalaris* of Kerala, there are historical remains of Durgaparameshvari, Kalasha Kannadi, Bhadrakali, Shivalinga and Kaidevate. He says that the wood and other things for the construction of Padu Garadi were brought from Punnottu Mutt by boats in 1872. The architecture of Padu Garadi resembles the architecture of the Bhagavati temples of Kerala.

Durgaparameshvari is worshipped in the form of a wooden pillar. The lower half of the pillar is wrapped with a piece of silk cloth; below the silk portion, there is a wheel in the form of a lion. This wheel is believed to have been invested with spiritual power.

There were other *garadis* that used to impart training in combat skills – Nanaya Garadi of Pangala, Chitrapu Garadi of Mulki, Kodibailu Garadi of Kasargod and Chingala Garadi. The battle-deity, Chandika is worshipped in all these *garadis*.

Nayari community and Varamballi Garadi

Before his wedding, a Nayari[5] groom enacts the role of a warrior at the Varamballi Garadi of Brahmavara.

The priest of Varamballi Garadi is given the position of a teacher by the Nayari community. He officiates at their social and religious ceremonies. Certain rituals followed in the marriage of a Nayiri groom – the initiation ritual administered by the teacher, the preceptor teaching the groom how to use a bow and arrow, how to wield a sword and how to defend oneself with a staff and the groom going for a symbolic conquest (*digvijaya*) – are reminiscent of the gymnastic techniques of the yesteryears.

The preliminary rituals of the Nayari wedding, prior to the actual wedding take place

in summer at the ancient Varamballi Garadi and in the house of the priest of Varamballi Garadi.

The priest sits on a magical design drawn in the courtyard of his house. A brother-in-law of the groom – brings a new dress in a plate and keeps it in front of the priest. All the persons assembled for the ceremony are given sacred rice grains and they say a prayer. The rice grains are first splattered on the priest and all genuflect before the priest. This ritual is a symbolic offering to the priest. At this ritual the presence of the brother-in-law is compulsory. Earlier the presence of five children in bridal dress as companions to the groom was necessary; nowadays, the presence of even two would suffice.

Then there is a ritual of filling water in a sacred pitcher. The ritual takes place on the platform of the well of the *garadi*. The privilege of filling the pitcher with water is of the priest's wife. She is given as offerings rice, a coconut, and betel leaves and areca nuts.

After this ritual, there is the haircut ritual. The barber of the family is given rice, areca nuts and a banana leaf for setting up of a *suttige* (the ritual of placing a coconut on rice spread on a banana leaf). Once the ritual of haircut is over, the groom is given a ritual bath by his mother. As water is poured on the groom, she keeps her head near his head. The girdle worn by the groom is put around the neck of the groom and his mother. The girdle perhaps symbolizes the umbilical cord that binds the mother to her child.

Once the ritual bath is over, the remaining rituals are conducted by a Nayari priest.

The groom puts on a fresh red silk dress. On the front portion of a banana leaf, rice, coconut, areca nut and fruits are placed and the banana leaf is kept on the previously drawn magical design. At the same place (on the magical design), on a small wooden seat, a bow, an arrow, and a staff are placed. The permission of the Nayari teacher is sought to break the coconut. Burning incense in an incense-tray, the tray is waved over the things kept on the magical design and the people attending the function move their hands over the incense in deference. Then the coconut is broken.

After these rituals, the groom puts on an attire befitting a warrior and sports a tuft. Then the Nayari teacher enacts the role of a teacher of gymnastics: He teaches the groom how to wield the staff and attack, how to shoot with an arrow, upward, downward and in all the directions. The groom and the teacher practise archery together, symbolically though.

In the evening a Brahmin priest performs the *ganahoma* (a kind of fire sacrifice). The important persons from the groom's side, along with the priest of the Nayiri community, go to the house of the priest of Varamballi Garadi. The headman of the Nayari community (*bade Nayari*) requests the priest, 'Kindly hand over the sword to the boy (*bade huduga*).' And then they bring the priest in a procession to Varamballi Garadi, to the accompaniment of traditional music.

The groom enters the *garadi*; when he enters, he is given in his hand a few blades of *darbe* grass (*Poa cynosuroids*) and he is made to don the sacred thread. After a prayer, the *ganahoma* is performed. In front of the sacrificial pit, a sacred pitcher is installed. The

pitcher is filled with water and on the mouth of the pitcher, mango leaves, jackfruit leaves, and a sacred knot made of *darbe* grass are placed. On the leaves, a coconut is kept, and on the coconut, some flowers are placed. After the fire sacrifice, *prasada* is distributed and the Brahmins are given gifts.

The groom requests the priest of Varamballi Garadi to conduct all the religious ceremonies of his wedding, and presents him betel leaves and an areca nut. The priest accepts the betel leaves and the areca nut. He lights the sacrificial fire and performs the necessary ceremonies. As a token of having completed all the rituals, he offers some fruits to the groom. At this stage of the ceremony, there is some measure of equality between the priest and the groom and the groom is in fact playing the role of the head of the family.

Then the groom is led to the family well and the priest carries the sacred pitcher. At the well, *darbe* blades are placed on the head of the groom and the priest pours holy water on groom's head.

The priest asks permission to wave a sacred lamp in front of Goddess Durgaparameshvari. After waving the lamp, a prayer is said; sacred rice grains are splattered on the groom and a garland of jasmine flowers is put around his neck. Then the priest tucks a sword under the armpit of the groom. The point of the sword is held by the brother-in-law of the groom. After this ritual, the dress which the groom has to wear, is put around his neck. At this juncture, he genuflects and puts some coins on the dress as offering. There is preaching of precepts to the groom by the priest. The groom wears the dress has received; hangs the sword on his waist; comes out of the *garadi*; and performs circumambulation of the *garadi*.

After this ritual, the groom goes to a pond for a bath. On the way, there used to be a mock fight between the groom and his brother-in-law with steam-baked pancakes, and in modern times, they fight with bananas. They hit each other with pancakes or bananas, and when one tries to hit, the other tries to avoid. People gather around to see the fun.

After the bath, the groom comes to the courtyard of the priest (of Varamballi Garadi). As he comes, his mother removes the possible effects of evil eye on the groom by sprinkling *okuli* (water mixed with turmeric powder and lime) on him. She washes his feet. He is made to sit in front of the marriage pandal and she waves a lamp in front of him. She wraps his head with a turban in the shape of an X.

The rice for the *sese* ceremony (splattering of rice grains) is kept in a clay vessel; on the vessel, a plate and in the plate, betel leaves and areca nuts are placed. While splattering the grains, the person who does so, holds the grains in his hands and touches the knees, shoulders and the forehead of the groom and then splatters them on the groom. After completing the *sese* ceremony, the groom is hit on his face with the remaining rice, and while hitting they shout, 'Now onwards he is a man-Nayiri (*Nayari Gandu*)'. His brother-in-law shields him from being hit with his hand-held fan.

Then the groom removes his bridal dress and wears another dress. He removes the

sword that he is carrying. The sword and other articles used in the ceremony are kept back in the *garadi*. The dress, he presents to his mother. He cannot use this dress again and it can be worn only by his brother-in-law.

The groom presents gifts to the Nayari priest, to the priest of the Varamballi Garadi and to his wife, for transforming him from a simple Nayari into a man-Nayari. With this, the preliminary marriage rituals of a Nayari groom are completed.

The Nayari community is a small community of perhaps three thousand members. Originally the community must have belonged to Vayanad of Kerala. Although there are no definite sources of information on the migration of Nayaris to the coastal Karnataka, there are certain beliefs in relation to the subject:

1. To contain the increasing nuisance caused by pirates some people of a caste (*varga*) from Kerala were brought and they were housed in Kiru Manjeshvara. Then they spread to other parts of Karnataka. The present day Nayaris are supposed to be the descendants of those persons.

2. In olden times, Shivalli Brahmin priests from Karnataka were invited by the people of Vayanad, to officiate as priests. When some of these priests returned home after retirement, they brought some Nayars from Kerala to attend to their household chores,. This is how the community multiplied, it is said.

The Nayari community is largely found in Brahmavara, Udupi, Saligrama and Kirumanjeshvar. Most of the members of the Nayari community lack education, according to one K. Buddhivanta Nayari. Rama Nayari and Basava Nayari have become famous *yakshagana* (folk drama) artists.

Nayaris speak Kundapura version of Kannada; their original language seems to have been lost. They follow the matrilineal system of inheritance. Some of the surnames of the community are: Heggade, Kadja, Devara, Tolara, Saler and Saliyara.

They worship various folk deities: Panjurli, Kalkuda, Nandi, Masti, and Chandika Durgaparameshvari.

Gymnasiums and Brahma-Baiderle Garodis

The twin heroes of Tulunadu, Koti and Chennaya must have been trained in *kalari* techniques and combat skills in the *garadis* like the Varamballi Garadi. There are certain legends to support of this. It is said that Koti and Chennaya were trained in the Nanaya Garadi of Pangala (a place near Udupi), which became famous as a gymnasium. Their teachers were Balipa Nanaya and Pilipa Nanaya. Apart from Balipa Nanaya and Pilipa Nanaya, there were other pairs of elder brother and younger brother who were contemporaries of Koti and Chennaya: Varamballi Ugramballi and Kantabare Budabare. During the time of Koti and Chennaya, it appears that there were four such pairs, including Koti and Chennaya, who were elevated to the level of divinities at a later stage.

The swords of the type used in the marriage ceremony of a Nayari groom are found

in the shrines of Koti Chennaya and they are called *suriyas*. The marriage tradition of the Nayari community becomes very useful for studying Brahma-Baiderle Garodis.

The image of Chandika Durgaparameshvari in the form of a wooden pillar of the *kalari* tradition has been transformed into a *gurukamba* (teacher-post) in the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis and is worshipped. In the matter of architecture, a Baiderle Garodi resembles a *kalari*. At the place where Chandika Durgaparameshvari is installed in a *kalari*, more-or-less at the same place the Bermere Gunda is located in a Baiderle Garodi. In most of the Baiderle Garodis, in a corner outside the Bermer Gunda, towards the wall, there is a wooden post.

Only the historical remains of the gymnasiums of the past are found. It is said that Varamballi Mudu Garadi, Varamballi Padu Garadi, Nanaya Garadi of Pangala, Chitrapu Garadi of Mulki, Kodibailu Garadi of Kasargod were meant for people of the fourth *Varṇa*.

According to Gunakara Nanaya (1990) of Pangala Garadi, Nanaya is one of the surnames among the 64 surnames of the Bunts. During the time of the Vijayanagara rule when the king of Travancore was defeated, to train his subjects in combat skills, he requisitioned the services of the teachers of the four *garadis* of Tulunadu. There are many legends centred around the various ways in which these teachers were tested before they were given the jobs.

Koti and Chennaya were first trained in the Parmale village school. For further learning and for acquiring proficiency in combat skills, they went to Nanaya Garadi. However before they could reach the *garadi*, the information about their arrival reached the *garadi*:

'It seems two Pujari children have come and while coming they have slashed everything that they could find on their way.'

They meet Balipa Nanaya and Pilipa Nanaya and tell them, 'O honourable teachers, we have come here to learn and not to fight.'

The teachers set the following conditions:

1. 'You should not teach others what we teach you.'

2. 'Although you are Billavas, we know that you are persons with supernatural powers. Therefore we agree to teach you. However our names should last as long as you live; your shrines shall be called Baiderle Garodis and not Baiderle Sthana so that the name of our *garadi* remains for ever. This is the tribute you shall pay to us for teaching you.'

In Nanaya Garadi Chandika Parameshvari is worshipped rather than Chandika Durgaparameshvari.

A gymnasium has a unique architecture; it has a roof with six corners. The sword found in these training centres resembles the swords associated with Koti and Chennaya. The sword used at a Nayari wedding is worshipped keeping it in front of Chandika Durgaparameshvari; in the same way, the *suriyas* of Baiderlu are laid on a basil platform (*tulasi katte*) and worshipped at the time of the *nēma* festival of Koti and Chennaya.

When did the *garadis*, which were training centres for combat skills, become places of worship? In this context, Amritha Someshwara (1990: 1) writes,

'The *garadis*, which were schools that imparted war training became places of worship and the martyr memorials only after the death of the cultural heroes, Koti and Chennaya.'

The term *garadi* or *garudi* means a centre imparting training in wielding weapons, a training centre to train wrestlers, a gymnasium, a shrine built for a village deity, or a shelter. (Venkatasubbayya: 1975: 280 – 1) In Tulu, such a centre is called a *garodi*.

According to Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian (1990: 3),

'The term *garadi*, or *garuḍi* is used in the sense of a gymnasium—the place where training is imparted in the use of arms, or the place where wrestling is taught. While teaching the trainees lessons in heroism, the *garadis* also inculcated the sublime virtue of self-sacrifice.'

There are no major differences in the architectural design (*āya*)[6] of a gymnasium, a Baiderle Garodi, or a *kalari*.[7] The basic dimensions whether it is a gymnasium, a Baiderle Garodi, or a *kalari* generally are: length, 42 feet; width, 21 feet; and height, between 15 to 20 feet.

A *garadi* and a *tāvu*

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana makes references to *tāvus*. Koti and Chennaya seem to claim, 'We need 66 *garodis* and 33 *tāvus*'.

Presently (in 2000), there are more than 200 *garodis*. However, what are these *tāvus* and where are they located?

In terms of the above figures, for each *tavu*, there ought to be two *garodis*. But this does not seem to be correct. The figures, 66 and 33 are mythologically significant numbers. *Kalaris* and *tavus* appear to be separate entities.

In Kerala, there is a *tāvu* connected to a *kalari*. In Kerala, an undivided family may have a *tara* or *tarvadu*. Every *tarvadu* has a *kalari* or *kāvu*. The presiding deity, Paradevate of a *kalari* is also the presiding deity of a *kavu*. There are different names of this deity. The deity is depicted as a ferocious deity with one breast and one tooth. The deity represents the Mother Goddess.

A *taravadu* is considered a 'country' and a group of 'countries' becomes a *nadu*. A part of this social structure is the *kalari*. (Shankara Pillai : 1982 : 45 – 53) A *kalari* represents a *taravadu*. The dimensions of a *taravadu* are: length, 42 feet and width, 21 feet and the dimensions are similar in a (Koti Chennaya) *garodi*. Therefore, a *tavu* of a *garodi* is similar to a *kavu* of a *kalari*.

A *tāvu*[8] or a *kāvu*[8] is related to worship. There are five to thirty retinue deities in a *garodi*, and in a *kalari*, there are seven to twenty one deities. *Kalari* has a presiding deity, and similarly, the presiding deity of a (Koti Chennaya) *garodi* is Bermer.

Teyyam of Kerala and spirit worship of Tulunadu

There is a close relationship between Teyyam of Kerala and the spirit worship of Tulunadu. There is a connection between the worship tradition of a community and the family structure. The matrilineal system is very much found in the spirit worship of the Tuluvas. The folk songs and the folk stories of Tulunadu depict the family system and the social traditions of the people of Tulunadu.

Scholars believe that the *kalari* tradition has influenced the worship traditions like Teyyam and Padiyani; and the dance forms, Kudiyattam and Kathakkali. The Steps and the hand gestures of the performing arts resemble the *adavu* of *kalari*.

Kurup, K.K.N. (1973) is of the view that a Teyyam artist exhibits war-like postures and gestures in the course of his performance, and he further believes that the artist must have learnt his skills from the *kalari* techniques. There is another view that Kathakkali originated from Kalari Pattu.

In the spirit worship of the Tuluvas, each folk deity has its own special weapon and it is used at the time of the festival of the deity. The spirit impersonator of the deity, in the course of the possession ritual, dances in a state of trance. When the spirit circumambulates the shrine or performs the 'wandering' ritual, it exhibits (through the Bhuta performer) its heroism, and its vainglory. The Bhuta performers have to learn the dance steps, hand gestures and the ways to carry the weapons. All these activities point to the techniques used in the gymnasiums of the past. In Tulu, there are terms like, *kalori*[9] *gobbunu* (playing *kalori*), and *sādhago pōpuni* (going to the battle field). In the *Pāḍdanas*, there are references to *kalori koṭya* (a shed meant for *kalori*), and *rajangana* (a big yard). The architecture of shrines of some of the folk deities of Tulunadu has the resemblance that of a *kalari* or a gymnasium.

Absence of Brahma-Baiderle Garodis in some places

1. 'In the nine *māgaṇes* or *pirkas* of Mulki, there are no Brahma-Baiderle Garodis. After their death, Koti and Chennaya go for a holy dip in *badagu gange*. They are stopped by the twins, Kantabare and Budabare at Bastipadpu of the Ulipad region of Mulki. Koti and Chennaya fight with Kantabare and Budabare, and the fight is supposed to have continued for eight days and seven nights. Since neither side wins, Goddess Durgaparameshvari of Bappanad intervenes and works out a compromise. According to the agreement, Koti and Chennaya are not to enter beyond the border of Suratkal. The border was marked by drawing lines on the ground and making cuts on the trees. Therefore, there are no Brahma-Baiderle Garodis beyond the boundary of Suratkal, till the border of Hejmadi.' (Somappa Suvarna: 1988)

The defeat of the heroes, who were already famous in their own region, by another set of heroes of the same community from some other place would not have been appreciated by the community. If there is an alternative to direct confrontation, there is a

greater opportunity to glorify the heroism of both the sides. Therefore, hammering out a compromise is inevitable. The prestige of the local heroes is not dented as a result. If the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis were to be set up in the region where Kantabare and Budabare enjoyed some measure of supremacy, it would have undermined their prestige in the community.

For the same reason, the influence of Kantabare and Budabare was confined to the Mulki region and did not extend beyond this geographical space. Even in their own area, it does not seem that they were apotheosized (elevated to the status of folk deities). They have just remained historical personalities. Recently some memorials have been built in their honour.

Koti and Chennaya are worshipped in the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis but there are no such places of worship for Kantabare and Budabare because Koti and Chennaya have already been accepted by the Billava community as their cultural heroes and as the deities of the community. Therefore, popularizing some other divinities as rivals to Koti and Chennaya was not encouraged.

Kantabare and Budabare now appear as the retinue of the powerful local folk deity, Jumadi. The gymnasium (*garadi*) in which Kantabare and Budabare were trained in combat skills is in Sasihittilu of Mangalore taluk. In this *garadi*, apart from Kantabare and Budabare, Ullaya, Jarandaya, Jumadi, and Odillaya receive annual worship. (Shekhara Poojary: 1992) This *garadi* is also an example to establish the fact that the earlier gymnasiums imparting military training have now become merely places of worship. In recent years, the places where Kantabare and Budabare were born and brought up have been renovated and memorials are built in their honour. During the annual festival of the principal deities of these places, the *pāḍdana*[10] of the twin heroes is sung.

Initially there might have been 66 Brahma-Baiderle Garodis and 33 *tavus*. Now the number of *garodis* is more than 200. There are many reasons for the increase in the number of *garodis*. There could be many obstacles when an attempt is made to establish a Baiderle Garodi. Local people may object to the establishment of a *garodi*. Or sometimes the objection comes from the folk deities that have already been established in the area.

2. In the Ekkar village of Mangalore taluk, there is no Baiderle Garodi. There is a legend behind it. It seems near Nadyodi Guttu a boy was fishing in a bund set up across a river. Muddar of Nadyodi Guttu hit the boy and the boy died as a result. During those days, there was strict punishment for manslaughter. Therefore, Muddar decided to abscond for twelve years. In the course of his escape he came across two Billava priests of Koti and Chennaya who were taking bath near a well. The moment they saw him fleeing, they became possessed by Koti Chennaya. They told him, it seems, 'We know why you are running away. If you construct a *garodi* for us in your Perda Bakyar (*bākyār*, a vast paddy field), we will protect you.'

Thus, he spent twelve years in exile without being caught and he returned to his *guttu* house. But he showed no inclination to act according to his promise. Koti Chennaya reminded

him of his promise. It seems, he told Koti and Chennaya, 'In our village, there are very powerful deities like Ullaya and Kodamandaya and hence your *garodi* cannot be set up here.' Angered by this, Koti and Chennaya cursed the family,

'You will forever fight among yourselves – uncles and nephews, brothers and brothers, mothers and children, and your house and your property shall perpetually remain divided.'

Therefore, it is said that Nadyodi Guttu suffered internal dissentions, and as a result, it lost its importance in the area. And Koti and Chennaya did not come to Ekkar. (Gananatha Ekkar: 1989: an article)

3. It seems, when there was a move to set up a *garodi* at Bangadi, the local folk deities, Ullakulu and his assistant Madiltaya did not allow. They chased away Koti and Chennaya. When Koti and Chennaya came to Mairapade and tried to establish them there, Kodamantaya snatched the sword of Koti, and the landlord of the area (*bhūmi bāraga*), snatched the sword of Chennaya. The sword of Chennaya was kept in the shrine of Puddottu Guttu, and the sword of Koti, in the shrine of Kodamantaya. It is said that at the time of the annual festival of the respective shrines, the swords are presented to the folk deities - Ullakulu and Madiltaya. (Adiraja Kadamba: 1992)

Diffusion of Brahma-Baiderle Garodis

During a *nema* festival of Baiderlu, the Bhuta performers, in a state of trance, proclaim: 'We got 66 *garodis* and 33 *tāvus* constructed.'

In A. C. Burnell's (1894: 32) collection, there is a mention of combat training in 66 *garodis*. *Pēr* Permbodi Garodi is mentioned in most versions of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. It was a *garadi* where military training was imparted. Some of these *garadis* imparting combat training became places of worship of Koti Chennaya (Brahma-Baiderle Garodis), but not all. Though Koti and Chennaya might have been trained in these *garadis*, there were others who also underwent similar training in these *garadis*. However, only those *garadis* associated with Koti and Chennaya were developed further and became places of worship.

Among the warriors who worked for the feudatory chiefs of the past and who fought on their behalf, the names of the Billava warriors are only heard: the wrestler, Chandugidi; and the twin heroes, Kantabare and Budabare, and Koti and Chennaya.

There must have been a close relationship between centres for combat training (gymnasiums) and the Billavas. Among them, Pangala Nanaya Garadi, Brahmavara Varamballi Garadi and Mulki Chitrapu Garadi have remained only as the remnants of the past. From the ruins of the gymnasiums of the past, the *garodis* as places of worship must have been evolved. Of the 66 original *garodis*, some of them might have been the *sādhane garadis* as well. There is a possibility that some of them might have been owned by certain landlords and hence remained as gymnasiums whereas some others were transformed into Brahma-Baiderle Garodis.

Enmur Garodi is called the original *garodi*. The Ballalas of Enmur, Panja and Parmale might have set up separate *garodis* in their provinces. In the beginning there might have been only one *garodi*.

Diffusion of Brahma-Baiderle Garodis

Table 2

There are various reasons for the diffusion of *garodis* throughout Tulunadu. The important reason seems to be divine inspiration (*daiva prēraṇe*) coming from Koti and Chennaya themselves.

Some of the reasons for setting up of *garodis*:

Reason	Village Garodis	Private (*mane*) Garodis
Inspiration from Baiderlu (Koti Chennaya)	18	2
Some persons being possessed by Baiderlu and directing the villagers to set up *garodis*	12	-
Boiled paddy sprouting	8	7
Finding water in a place where water was not available	7	-
Baiderlu appearing in the dream of some persons and directing them to set up *garodis*	7	-
Local people setting up of *garodis*	5	-
Supernatural occurrences	4	-
Setting up of *garodis* to fulfil a vow	3	-
Paddy kept for boiling did not boil for three to four days	1	-
Setting up of a separate *garodi* because of some dispute with an existing *garodi*	12	-
Setting up of *garodis* because of self-motivation	-	2
No specific legends or reasons for setting up of *garodis* are known	125	-
Total	202	12

(Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian: 1990: 30)

When Koti and Chennaya storm out of the Parmale manor house setting a deadline, they proclaim:

'We will appear when the boiled paddy corns sprout.'

Sometimes local legends may not be available to ascertain why certain *garodis* were established. Sometimes new *garodis* were set up because of some dispute regarding the existing *garodis*. This is what happened in the Mijar village. Because of some dispute concerning Edapadavu Garodi, Mijar Garodi was established. There are two *garodis* in Mijar: one under the management of Jains and the other, under the control of Bunts.

When the services of certain priest-impersonators, who were officiating as priests at Enmur Garodi for a number of years, and who were discontinued, they took *prasada* from Enmur Garodi and set up a *garodi* in their own village. This is a history of just ten years. The *nema* ceremony of the new *garodi* takes place on the same day as that of the Enmur Garodi.

When people of Tulunadu migrate to other places, they may found *garodis* in the places of their migration. There is a *garodi* at Mokkandooru, twelve kms from Madikeri, on the way to Madapra.

For the last eighteen years, the *nema* ceremony of Baiderlu takes place in Mumbai. At the suburban Borivili of Mumbai, on the Devalapada-Ahmedabad Highway, near the Jagadishvari shrine, a *garodi* has been established by the Jagadishvari Seva Samiti. It has the architectural style of a traditional *garodi*.

The number of *garodis* is very much less in Parmale, Panja and Enmur—the central places of the Koti Chennaya legend. On the other hand, in places located far away from the central places, like Karkala, Udupi, and Kundapura, there more Brahma-Baiderle Garodis.

Table 3
Taluk-wise number of *garodis*

Taluk	Village Garodis	Private (*Mane*) Garodis	Total
Udupi	67	-	67
Karkala	69	10	79
Kundapura	21	-	21
Beltangady	14	2	16
Puttur	13	-	13
Bantwal	7	-	7
Sulya	5	-	5
Mangalore	4	-	4
Kasargod	2	-	2
Total	**202**	**12**	**214**

(Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian: 1990: 43 – 56)

The following are among the new *garodis*[11] that have come to my notice during my field study: Murva or Manila Garodi of Bantwal, Koryana Garodi of Charvaka of Puttur taluk, and Nalluru Nadilla Mane Garodi of Karkala taluk.

On the basis of the antiquity of the *garodis*, the taluk-wise locations of the *garodis* can be arranged in the following way, starting from the most ancient location to the least ancient:

Sulya—>Puttur—>Bantwal—>Beltangady—>Karkala—>Udupi—>Kundapura—>Mangalore—>Kasargod

Why diffusion of *garodis* has not taken place in certain regions must be examined with reference to the spirit worship tradition of the Tuluvas as a whole, along with the social and political administration of the place.

In terms of antiquity, only two out of the five *garodis* in Sulya are ancient: one at Enmur and the other at Panja. Leaving aside Manimajalu Garodi, the other two *garodis* came up after Independence. In Puttur, out of fourteen *garodis*, only four are ancient *garodis*; three *garodis*: Mudayuru, Padumale or Sulyapadavu, and Kaipangala came into existence after Independence and four belong to the middle period *i.e.*, they are more than a century old. In Bantwal taluk, out of the eight *garodis*, six are ancient *garodis*, one belongs to the middle period, and one was established after Independence. Out of the sixteen *garodis* in Beltangadi taluk, five are ancient *garodis*: Karaya, Devyapalabettu, Sulikeri, Kokradi and Naravi; six were established after Independence, and the remaining are more than 100 years old. In Karkala taluk, out of the 80 *garodis,* 52 are ancient *garodis*, eleven are private *garodis*, nine belong to the middle period, and eight have been built after Independence. Out of the 67 *garodis* in Udupi, 57 are ancient *garodis*, six belong to the middle period, and four are new *garodis*. All the *garodis* in Mangalore taluk belong to the middle period. There are two *garodis* in Kasargod and both are around 30 years old.

Most of the *garodis* in Udupi and Karkala talukas are ancient *garodis* and the number could be around 150. There are no ancient *garodis* in Mangalore and Kasargod. In Mangalore taluk, Mijar Garodi is the oldest *garodi*. It was set up with the initiative of the Billava community.

It seems, once, some prominent persons from Mangalore attended a *nema* festival at Mijar Garodi; they did not get proper respect at the *garodi* festival, it is said. Peeved by this, they brought a fistful of earth from Mijar Garodi and set up a *garodi* at Kankanadi, Mangalore. Kankanadi Garodi resembles the Mijar Garodi. When devotees from Kodipadi Balike of Suratkal were not shown proper respect at Kankanadi Garodi, they brought a fistful of earth from Niddodi Garodi of Karkala and established a new *garodi* at Kodipadi. For the same reason, a family established a *garodi* at Kanakarabettu, near Kankanadi. Edapadavu Garodi was set up because of a fight between Jains and Bunts in the management of the Mijar Garodi.

Garodis of Mangalore taluk

Mijar —> Kankanadi —> Kanakarabettu

↓ ↓

Edapadavu Kodipadi

In some places, the power of the principal folk deity of the place is responsible for not allowing a *garodi* to come up there. As narrated in the Ullalti and Ullakulu *pāḍdanas*, the folk deity, Madiltaya or Odiltaya has a greater sway in the Beltangadi province and hence there is a feeling that because of Madiltaya the diffusion of *garodis* was halted in the Beltangadi province. (Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian: 1990: 39)

According to Chinnappa Gowda (1990: 46), these are certain principal folk deities of Tulunadu and their worship goes on systematically. In this context he writes:

'Some of the powerful folk deities of Tulunadu are: Kalkuda, Kallurti, Panjurli, Jumadi, Malaraya, Ullalti, Kodamanittaya, Todakukkinar, Adimaravandi, Kannallaya, Karikabila, Kudumallaya, Mujulnaya, Koti Chennaya, Jatadhari, Purusha Bhuta, Giliraya, Bastinayaka, Shiradi Bhuta, Koḍdabbu, Tannimaniga, Āli Bhuta, Dandanayaka, Duggallaya, Nalkaittaya, Billattaya, Billarti, and Lekkisiri.'

When there is a powerful folk deity in a given area, it does not mean that another powerful deity cannot establish itself there. In many *garodis* where Jains and Bunts are the hereditary managers, the principal deity is Ullakulu, or Kodamanttaya or Kukkintaya. In spite of such powerful folk deities being worshipped in the *garodis*, the *garodis* are still known as Baiderle Garodis.

In the places where Koti Chennaya were not allowed to establish themselves, they are invoked on certain occasions. Such places are called the 'places where they planted their swords' (*sūrya ūrdina jāg).*

There is a stone, *Baiderle Kall*, at a corner, behind the courtyard of the shrine of the folk deity, Todakukkinar at Kananturu. During the circumambulation ritual of the deity on the day of the temple festival, the procession of the deity stops near the Baiderle Kall for a while to pay respect to Baiderlu (Koti Chennaya).

During a nine-day Pilikola festival (*pili*, a tiger) organized by the Godda community, one day is reserved for the festival of Koti and Chennaya.

Most of the folk deities: Ullalti, Todakukkinar, Jatadhari, Shiradi Bhuta Mujulnaya Dandanayaka Malaraya Panjurli, Jumadi Nalkaittaya Attavara Daiyyangalu, Arasu Manjisshnar Kuriyaḍiyattar Kinnimani Pūmani, Ullakulu and Nayar Bhuta are royal deities They, like Koti and Chennaya, were also heroes (and heroines) when they were alive. If a male folk deity has established already his supremacy in an area, another male folk deity. would find it difficult to establish himself in that area. This is the reason why there are few Baiderle Garodis in Sulya, Beltangadi, Mangalore, and Kasargod. In Sulya, Nayar Bhuta and Kinnimani Pūmani; in Beltangadi, Mujulnaya and Annappa Panjurli; in Bantwal, Ullalti, Malaraya, Todakukkinar, Kanapadittaya, Nalkaittaya, and Daiyyangalu; in Mangalore, Attavara Daiyyangalu and Ullālti; and in Kasargod, Ullakulu / Kinnimani Pūmani, Arasu Manjishnar and Jumadi are the principal folk deities. Each deity has his / her own jurisdiction,

and other deities are not allowed to be established within the area of his or her jurisdiction.

Billavas have been able to found new *garodis* in the areas where they are prominent or where they are in a majority. But still they are able to found new *garodis* only in areas where they are in a sizable number. New *garodis* are established to bolster their separate cultural identity. Because of pursing modern education, Billavas have been able to leave behind the legacy of the past and earn high social status. For the last hundred years or so, they have accepted Guru Narayana Swami as their preceptor (*guru*). This has led to some kind of social transformation among Billavas. Hence, they have perhaps felt that following Guru Narayana Swami is a better alternative to preserve their identity than establishing more *garodis*. This could be the reason why no new *garodis* have been established in Bantwal and Mangalore. The newly founded Narayana Guru Sanghas (*sangha*, an association) seem to prefer supporting the existing *garodis* than establishing new ones.

In the new *garodis* which have come up recently, prominence is given to Bermer, Baiderlu, Kujumba Kanja, Kinnidaru, and others (who were directly connected with the Koti Chennaya legend). In these *garodis*, other folk deities like Kodamanttaya, Jumadi, Ullakulu, Panjurli, and so forth are not worshipped. The examples of such *garodis* are Adkattabailu Garodi of Kasargod (founded about 21 years ago), Dekkala or Ramajal Garodi (built 15 years ago), and Ankatadka Garodi of Puttur (established 25 years ago).

A Billava priest, impersonator of Baiderlu may be responsible for establishing a *garodi*; however its management may be in the hands of a person belonging to some other caste, or it may be managed by the general public. Because of the abolition of the earlier system of village administration, the management of some of the *garodis* is now in the hands of the general public. Many centres of worship, including *garodis*, which were controlled and managed by certain *guttu* houses, have become public institutions managed by the general public, for example, the Kudi Garodi of Hiriyadka. The annual festival of this *garodi* is organized by the *guttu* house in one year, and in the next year, by the general public.

Management of *garodis*

Table 4

Taluk	Jains	Billavas	Bunts	Others	Total
Sulya	-	4	I	-	5
Puttur	4	4	3	3	14
Bantwal	1	3	-	4	8
Beltangadi	10	2	-	4	16
Karkala	35	5	24	16	80
Udupi	-	19	45	3	67
Kundapura	-	9	9	3	21
Mangalore	1	2	1	-	4
Kasargod	-	1	-	1	2
	51	**49**	**83**	**34**	**217**

Billavas were largely responsible for the construction and diffusion of *garodis*. It does not hold water that they constructed the *garodis* to maintain their separate identity. The movement to maintain separate identity by the Billavas is a recent phenomenon. Although Billavas were responsible for setting up of the *garodis* in most cases, the actual control and management rested with Jains and Bunts since they were the landlords. Why did these landlords supervise the construction of the *garodis* and throw open the *garodis* to the public? Did they not have their own folk deities?

Although Billavas were a neglected community, it was a powerful community. Because of their background in combat training, they received recognition and position in the gymnasiums of yesteryear. Koti and Chennaya were the representatives of such a community.

The society of that time needed Billavas very much. They played a crucial role in protecting *budus* and *guttus*. Billavas were the important combatants in the combat units that determined the power, status, and position of a *budu* or a *guttu*. As trained fighters, they were the main support-base behind the strength and power of a *guttu* house. Hence they could not be side-lined. Giving them commensurate importance in the society became unavoidable. Therefore, it seems Koti and Chennaya as the representatives of this community were established in the *garodis* and worshipped.

Further, in the ceremonies and rituals of folk deities of the Tuluvas, Billavas play a greater role than the other communities. There is no doubt that the Billava community was accorded social status and position by establishing Brahma-Baiderle Garodis. In the context of *guttu* life, there was a close relationship between Bunts and Billavas. On many occasions, Brahmins used to restrict their association with Billavas; but, Bunts did not, and could not. Therefore, Bunts used to mediate between Billavas and Brahmins. The Brahmins who were trying to extend their influence over the spirit worship of the Tuluvas tried to sideline Billavas: sidelining them as priests in the *garodis* could be one such effort.

Period of construction of *garodis*

Table 5

Garodi	Jain	Billava	Bunt	Others	Total
Ancient	42	30	66	16	154
Middle Period	4	5	11	6	26
New	5	25	4	3	37
Total	**51**	**60**	**81**	**25**	**217**

There is a need to examine the background that led to the worship Koti and Chennaya as divinities. The members of the Billava community worship Koti and Chennaya as their family deities. The family deity of Koti Chennaya was Bermer. Therefore, Koti and

Chennaya are worshipped along with the principal deity, Bermer. The ancient history of Tulunadu has recorded the period when the Billavas were a powerful community in Tulunadu. (Sheenappa Heggade: 1990: 133) Once upon a time, Billavas were a dominant community as soldiers, military leaders , community leaders, cultivators, toddy tappers, priests of folk deities, experts in native medicine (*pundits*), and practitioners of occult practices and reciters of magical aphorisms (*mantra*). Historians suggest there were four castes in the ancient Tulunadu: Aigal, Aluva, Marakala, and Billava. (*ibid*: 185) This classification hints at four *Varnas*. Among Brahmins, Baragas (rulers), Tuluvas, and Turuvas, Billavas belong to the Turuva (?) caste. The Billava community is known by different names: Billava, Bontra, Biruva, Baidya, Pujari, and Paika.

Because of oppression and exploitation by the higher castes, Billavas were sidelined once upon a time. As a mark of protest and struggle, *garadis* (gymnasiums) of the past must have been transformed as places of worship, known as Brahma-Baiderle Garodis. For the Billavas, maintaining their identity became a necessity. Hence, worship of the community assumed importance and the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis were founded. Later, by coercion, landlords must have taken over these *garodis*. Brahmins do not seem to have got control of the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis; even if they did, they did not develop them as places of worship.

Most of the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis are under the management of Jains and Bunts. Communities other than Billavas have continued to maintain the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis because of the income from the *garodis* and the income from the gifted land in the name of the *garodis*. Belief in Baiderlu was (is) secondary for them. Therefore, if some of the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis are on a path to progress and if some of them are renovated, they must have been mainly those which are under the management of Billavas. Other Brahma-Baiderle Garodis must have been renovated because of some other reasons.

As it happened in the case of Brahma-Baiderle Garodis, where the members of other castes got hold of the management of the *garodis* by force and continued their worship, the same thing did not happen in the case of the Mugerle Kalas (*kala*, a place of worship of Mugerlu folk deities) of the Mugera community. One reason could be that there was (is) no land attached to these shrines.

In the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis controlled by Jains and Bunts, their deities—Ullakulu, or Kodamanttaya—are also worshipped along with Koti and Chennaya.

It must also be noted that the worship of Bermer is moving towards the Vedic mode of worship.

Layout of a gymnasium

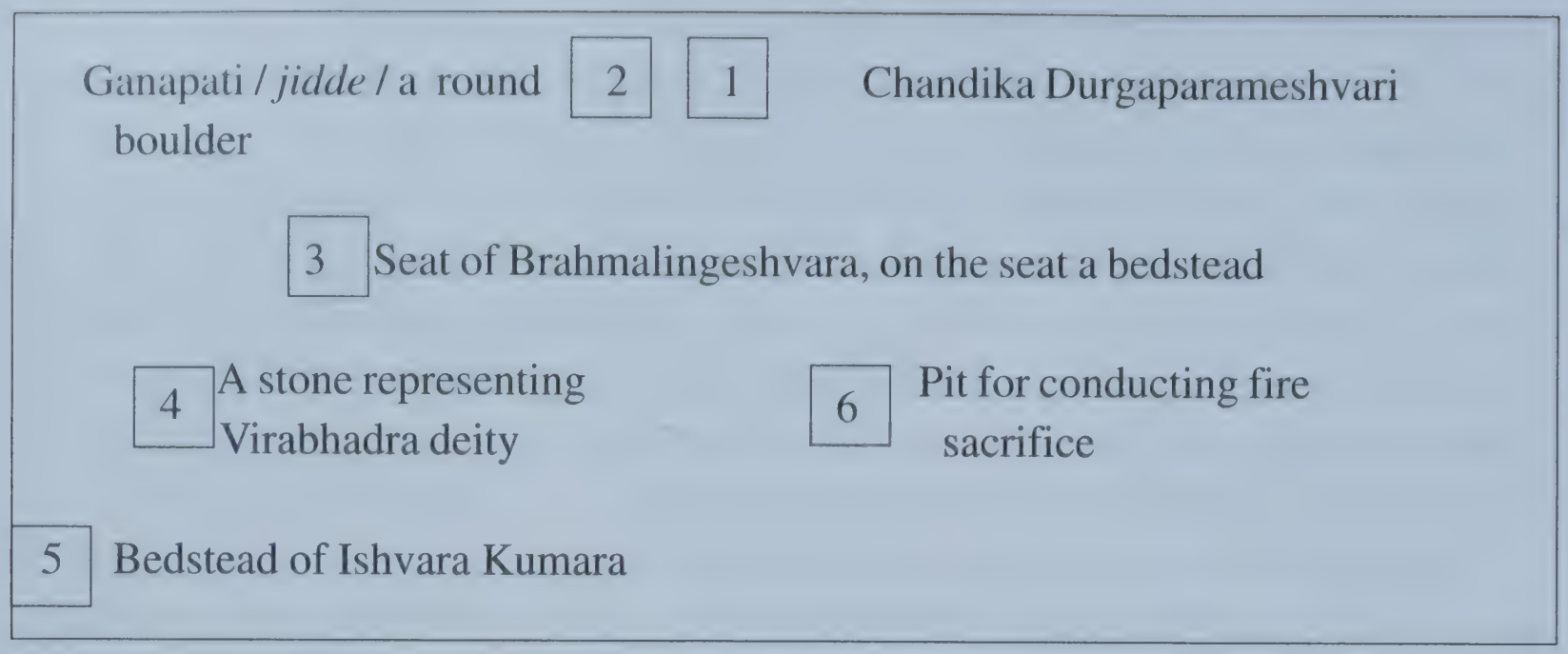


Fig. 2

Layout of a Brahma-Baiderle Garodi:

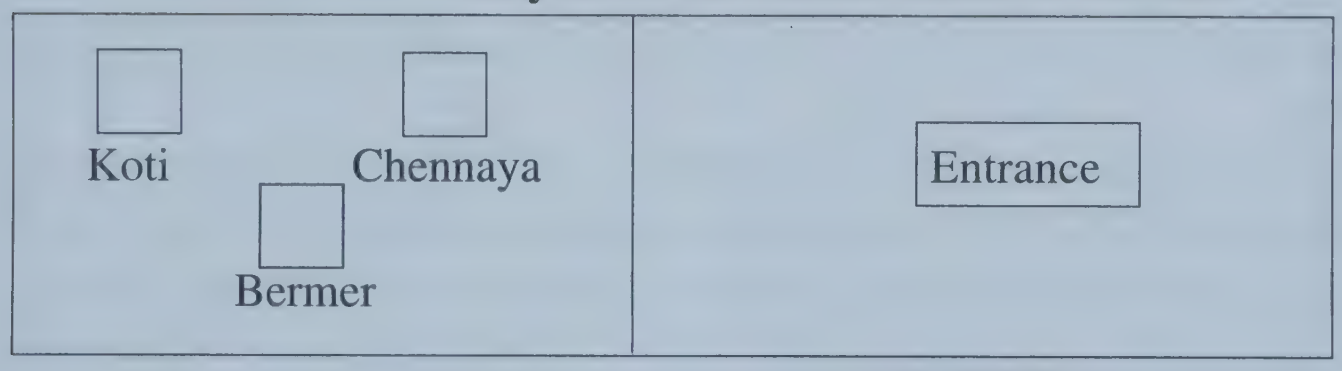


Fig 3

Layout of a *Kalari*

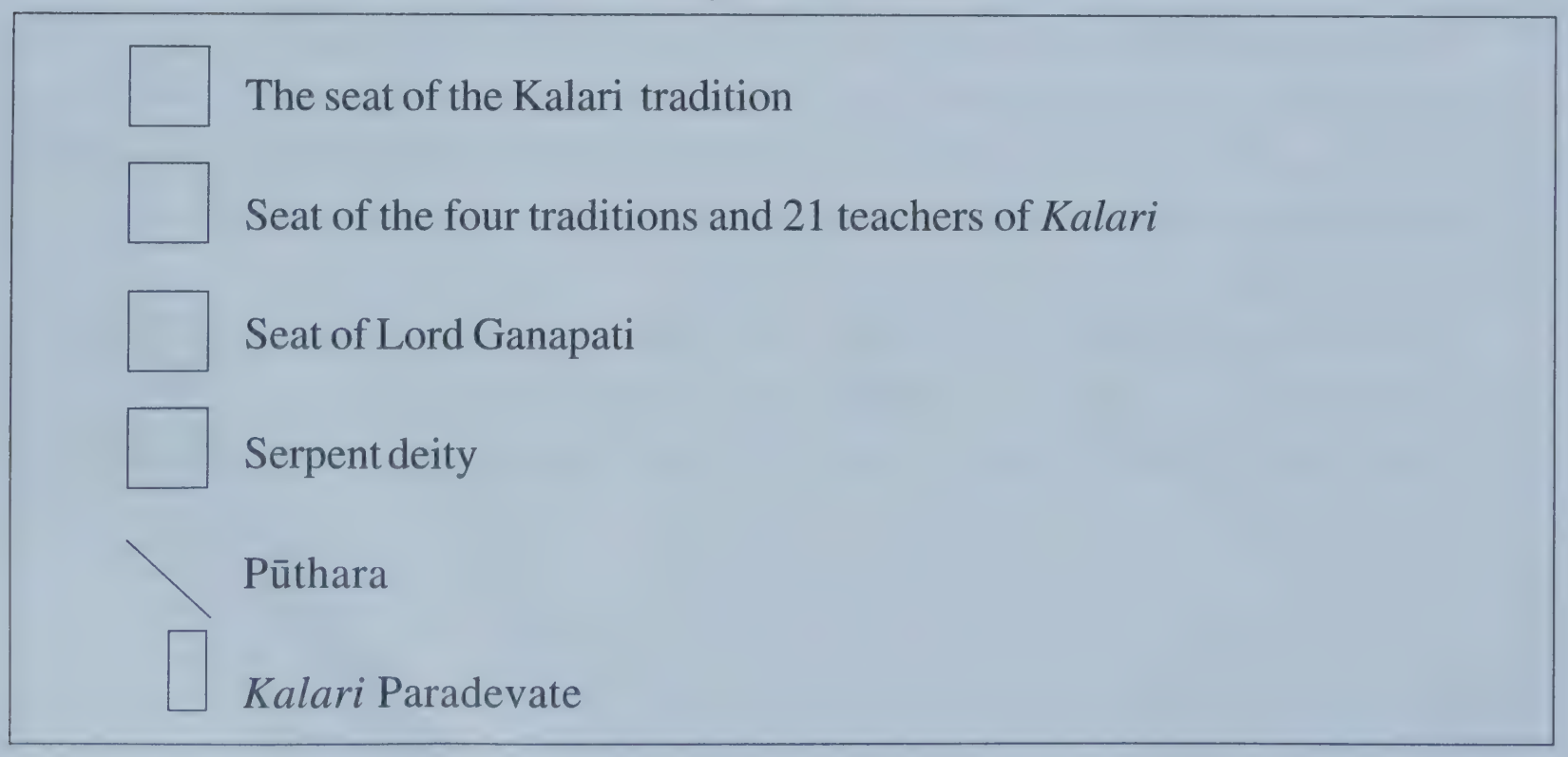

The seat of the Kalari tradition
Seat of the four traditions and 21 teachers of *Kalari*
Seat of Lord Ganapati
Serpent deity
Pūthara
Kalari Paradevate

Fig. 4

Idol worship

Commenting on the memorials for the dead, Ananta Rangachar (1954: 312) writes,

'From the standpoint of ancient architecture, the structures erected on the cremation ground, or the burial places or the places where the last remains of a person were buried are important. In the beginning, just mounds served as the memorial; during the time of Buddha, huge tower-like (*gopura*) structures, with elaborate carvings and pictures, were erected.'

The Indian mystical sects have strengthened the religious practices and beliefs of the people. The practices and beliefs are artistically reflected in the places of worship. When you examine the artistic creations in the places of worship, you find that they express religious consciousness, along with the consciousness of the universe.

The aboriginal communities possess their own way and medium to create works of art in clay, wood, stones, and metals. The artistic wooden sculptures found in the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis might have been influenced by the aboriginal communities.

Sahityananda and V. Gopal, in an article in the *Udyavani* newspaper (4 – 2 – 1990) argue that the metallic sculptures found in the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis of Tulunadu are similar to the metallic work of the Phadava tribe,

'The Phadava tribe of Bastar of Madhya Pradesh produces certain metallic sculptures. The same type of metallic sculptures—the horse-borne Bermer folk deity with some weapon in the hand—are found in the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis of Tulunadu.'

An icon or idol of one's personal deity is a visible medium to seek the grace of the deity. It is an external symbol that enables a person to achieve complete concentration as he prays. It could be a metallic sculpture, a colourful picture, a sign, a drawing on a plate, a paper, or a magical wheel.

The worship of phallus-shaped stones, idols with sex symbols, and wooden idols was found in the ancient Dravidian culture of India and in the ancient culture of Africa. As a part of the Dravidian and the Indus Valley culture, Mother Goddess and Shiva were worshipped by installing their idols. Trees and stones were also worshipped. The tradition of worshipping phallus was followed in many countries of the Mediterranean region. Worship of pillars and trees was found in the ancient religions. Along with worshipping Mother Goddess, there was ancestral worship and the worship of natural forces. The sky was worshipped as the principal deity. In the oral traditions of the Tuluvas, there are references to *mitt miri lōka* (the shinning world above), and *tirt siribāri lōka* (the beautiful world below). The idol worship has continued side by side with the worship of totemic spirits.

Mother Goddess and the principal deity

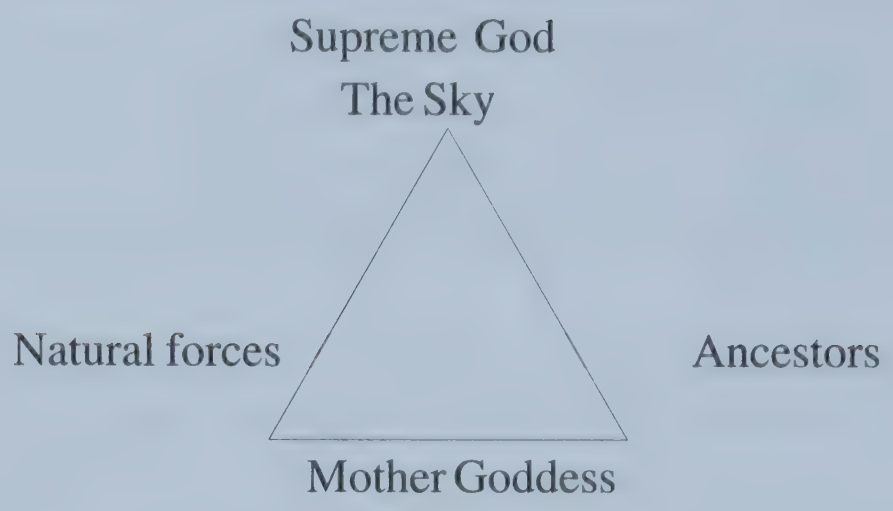


Fig. 5

According to the scriptures on rituals (*agama*), worshipping God by reciting mystical incantations and performing magical rituals (*tantra*) would pave the way for one's salvation. Idol worship was developed as a part of the Brahmin culture. However Brahmanism seems to have accepted this approach as a philosophical tool (*saiddhāntika sādhana*). (Rajarama Hegde: 1993 : 37)

H.K. Ramachandra Rao (1989: Vol. 1: 18 – 19) identifies four aspects of idol worship:

1. *Jñana*: The philosophical conceptualization of an idol
2. *Yōga*: Bringing out the characteristics of an idol in the mind of the worshippers
3. *Kriyā*: Sculpting idols, their installation *etc*.
4. *Charya*: The method of worshipping the idol

The Brahman procedures: devotion , worship, and seeking salvation are the important elements in idol worship. To supplement the Brahman procedures, the mystical practices (*tantra*) have been invented. (Devi Prasad Chattopadhyaya: 1979: 324 – 330)

According to the principles of sculpture, the idea of a deity is symbolically present in a sculpture. An idol itself is not the deity; it is an idol of the deity. An idol of a deity may be called a sculpture, a replica, a statue, or an icon. An idol is a conception of a form that does not represent truthfully the formless. The word *pratime* (idol) means that which resembles something; it is an imitation, or a copy, or an icon of something. (Rajarama Hegde: *ibid*: 35 – 36)

Artistic wooden sculptures are a part of the structure of the village shrines and the palaces of South India. These sculptures are related to folk deities, gods, and local deities. They reflect the local legends through the idols of human beings and animals.

George Merchell has studied the wooden sculptures of India for the last three decades. Shamala G. Rao (1992) quoting him in an article writes:

'These idols appear as a medium to establish a direct connection between devotees and the deities. The Indian architecture, carvings, and idols are a part of the daily life of the majority of the people of this place (India). The sculptural tradition of Dakshina Kannada

is very beautiful and it has merged the animal-related folk deities with Hindu culture. These idols do not receive separate worship; rather they function as the attendant deities of the presiding deity.'

Some of these attendant deities are attached to Goddess Mari and they are believed to protect the village against any misfortune.

When a mention is made to the *garodis* of Tulunadu, what come to our mind immediately are the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis. In most of the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis, there is a post / pillar. It is erected in front of the Bermer shrine.

In the idols of Koti and Chennaya, Koti and Chennaya are shown carrying their special weapons, *suriyas*. Erecting a teacher-post in a Brahma-Baiderle Garodi and depicting Koti Chennaya carrying *suriyas* in their hands indicate that they were trained in the gymnasiums of their time.

The word *garuda* means a bodyguard. It was absolutely necessary for a bodyguard to be trained in wrestling. The centre that trained people in wrestling or combat was a *garadi*, or a gymnasium. A well-managed *garadi* was called, Jarasandha Akhada. There was a Kumara Rama Garadi in Vijayanagara. In Maharashtra, gymnastics got a fillip because of Samartha Ramadasa, the teacher of Shivaji. Ramadasa established around 1200 gymnastic centres. They were called *akhāḍas*. Apart from wrestling, many forms of physical training were imparted in these centres. (Niranjana: 1973: 243)

Layout of some of the garodis
Pangala Garodi

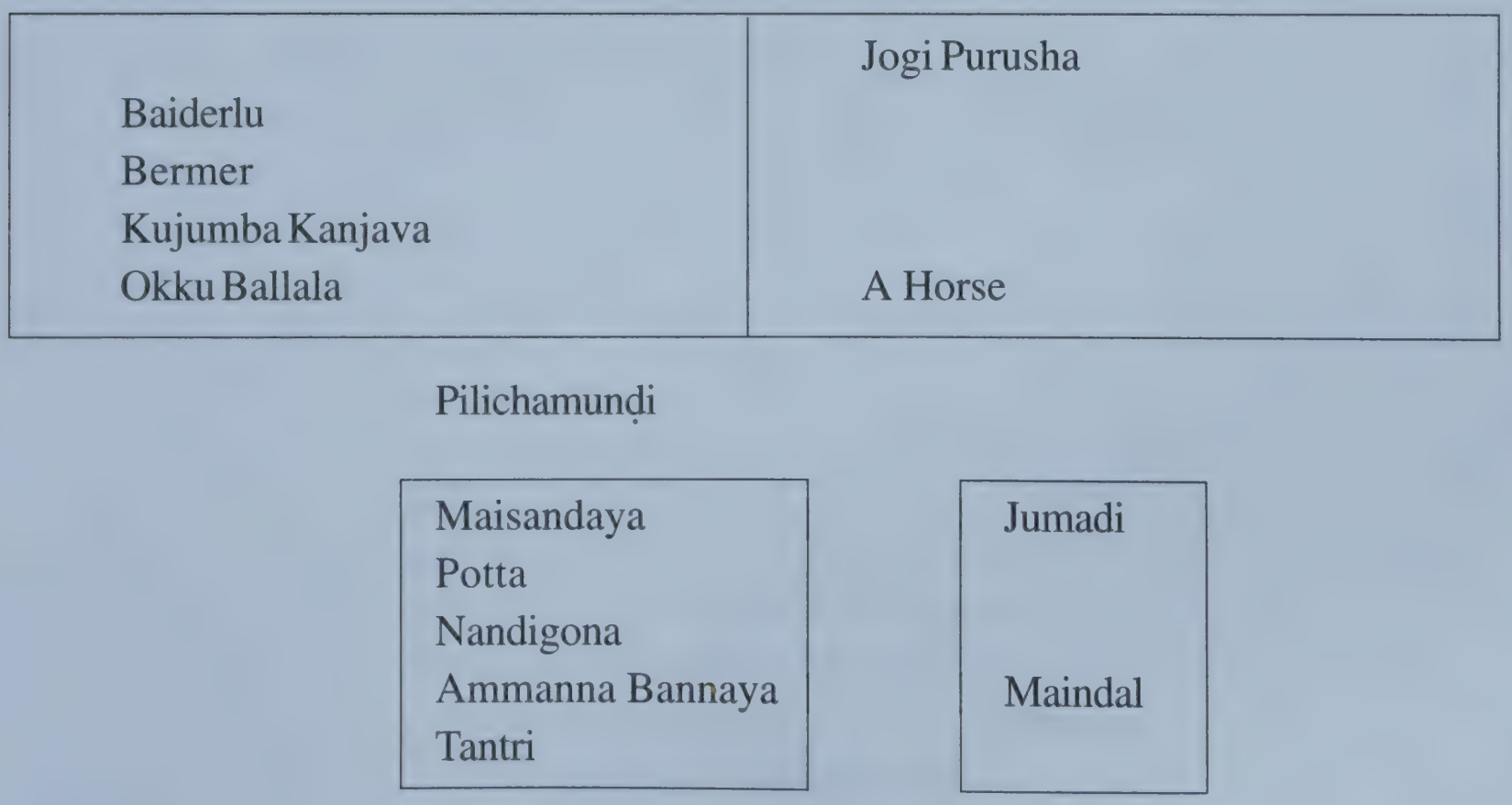


Fig. 6

Goli Garodi Complex

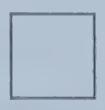
Nandikeshvara
Retinue deities

Bermere Gunda

Koti
Chennaya
Deyi Baidedi

Payya Baidya

Haiguli


Ammanavaru

Mugahaguli

Panjurli Handi
Retinue deities
Kala Bairava

Retinue deities

Son of Mayandalti
Mayandalti
Mantri Gana
Kalkuda
Retinue deities

Rakta Haiguli
Murl Chikku
Chikkamma
Svabravaru
Chaundi

Jogi Purusha

A female spirit (*ponnu jakini*)
A female spirit (*ponnu jakini*)
Mavayya
Machi Pujari

Fig. 7

Gurukamba* in *garodis

In most of the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis, as a fossil of the gymnasiums of the past, there is a 'teacher-post' (*gurukamba*). The post is erected outside the Bermere Gunda (sanctum sanctorum of a *garodi*), near the north wall of the *garodi*. In the *garodis* located on the north of Tulunadu, there is a teacher-post as a part of the *garodi* structure and it is largely absent in the *garodis* located on the south of Tulunadu.

In the gymnasiums of Maharashtra, there is a *malla kamba* (wrestler-post). Since the teacher-posts are found in the *garodis* situated on the north of Tulunadu, it is plausible

that the tradition of erecting the teacher-post must have come from Maharashtra. The teacher-posts of the *garodis* of Tulunadu are the new manifestations of the wrestler-posts of Maharashtra sans the original purpose for which they were used. In the *garodis*, lighted lamps are kept on the teacher-posts and the teacher-posts are worshipped.

It is clear that the *garodis* that are now places of worship where Bermer is the presiding deity; where the heroes (Koti and Chennaya) are worshipped, were once centres for physical training and body-building (Bannanje Babu Amin: 1990: 8 – 10).

There are different *garodi* houses (*garodi mane)* in Karnataka: Hanuman Garadi, Bajiranga Garadi, Basaveshvara Garadi, and Sagrama Garadi. Similarly, there are other centres where wrestling is taught: Siddhi, Tālim, Pansal Tālim, Nukha Tālim and so on. Their main activities are: teaching gymnastics, physical exercise, and wrestling.

A *garodi* mane consists of a teacher of gymnastics and his students (rather, his disciples). The students of one teacher compete with the students of another teacher when a wrestling bout is held.

'Teachers of gymnastics do not engage in wrestling bouts among themselves.' (Shantappa Devaraya: 1993)

There is a wrestler-post in a gymnasium. It is a chiselled and smoothened log of wood, and it is two feet long with a circumference of three feet and a half. In a gymnasium or a centre imparting *Tālim*, erection of a wrestler-post is mandatory. A centre of *Tālim* is similar to a gymnasium.

During the Moharam festival, Hindus and Muslims used to stage exercises on bullock carts with the help of the wrestler-posts mounted on the carts.

At present no centres specializing in *Tālim* may exist; however they once existed and this could be established by the names of certain lanes in Bider (Karnataka): Siddhi Talim lane, Muniyar Talim lane, and Pansal Talim lane. (*ibid*)

In Udupi, there is Garadi Majal, and in Mangalore, Garodi Garden.

Notes:

1. Puttur of Kerala is grassland located at Kiyuru of Kuruttera of Kerala. The folk song, *Aromal Chegava* mentions that there were *kottu madas* or stages to organize shows on performing arts in Puttur. (See Venkataraja Puninchattaya: 1985) There is a place called Puttur in Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka and there is a place, Mogral Puttur in Kumbule of Kasargod district of Kerala.
2. Kannappan Chegavar – A warrior who was trained in gymnastics in Tulunadu was called a Chevaga. The eighteen *kalari* stratagems documented by Venkataraja Puninchattaya are: Ōdiram, Kaṭakam, Chaṭulam, Manḍalam, Vṛattachakram, Sukangālam, Vijayam, Viśvamōhanam, Tiryakmanḍalam, Gadayā khēṭagahvam, Śatrunjayam, Saubhadram, Paṭalam, Parājayam, Kāyavṛadvam, Ĉilākhanḍam, Gadhḍśḍstrḍm and Anuttam.
3. *Taccholi Chandu* is a famous folk song of north Kerala. Wife of Taccholi Chandu, Matu Kutti of

Tayattu Mutt was kidnapped by a hero, Kandar Menon of Tulunadu. The folk song describes him as the hero who belonged to Tulunadu Kote; and Tulunadu Kote (*kōṭe*, a fort) was said to be impregnable. (Venkataraja Puninchattaya: 1985)

4. *Garadi*—The terms, *garadi* and *kalari* have similar meaning; they were used during the middle period to refer to martial performing art (*samara ranga kale*). The modern dance forms: Kathakali, Bharatanatya, Teyyam, Chavittu Natakam, spirit dances (Bhuta *nartana*), and *Yakshagāna* must have originated from *garadi* and *kalari*. *Kalari* is involved in physical training. A form of *kalari*, C. V. N. *Kalari* has become popular in Kerala. (Shankar Pillai: 1982; Parthasarathi: 1980; Menon: 1980; Cherian: 1945; Tumbi: 1980; *The Hindu*: 1965. *Garadi*, *Garudi*, *Kalari*: fencing school. Burrow T. and Emeneau, M. B.: 1961)
5. Nayari could be a sub-group of the Nayar community.
6. ā*ya*—refers to the definite measurement used in the construction of a Baiderle Garodi; on the basis of the measurements, three types of Brahma-Baiderle Garodis can be identified: Fixed Design Garodis (*āyada garodi*), Variable Design Garodis (*āya prabhēda garodi*), and Private (Family) Garodis (*mane garodi*). (Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian: 1990: 57 – 74)
7. *kalari*—a *kalari* is given a name depending on the measurements of the *kalari*, *e.g.*, Nāpatranḍaḍi *Kalari* (*kalari* of 42 feet). In Kasargod, there is a *kalari* with the above dimension; however, now it has become a shrine of Ullakulu deities.
8. *tāvu* or *kāvu*—is a place of worship of Koti Chennaya without the *garodi* structure. (Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian: 41); *kāvu*—a holy enclosure
9. *kalori*—the term *kalori* is derived from the Sanskrit term *khālōrika*, and *khālōrika* is a place where warriors were trained. (Raghavan, M. D.: 1947: 43; Shankara Pillai: 1982)
10. During the annual festival of the principal folk deities of these places, the *pāḍḍana* of the twin heroes, Kantabare and Budabare is sung. The annual festival takes place during the day time. Once I went to witness the festival. I requested the Pambada Bhuta performer to sing the Kantabare Budabare Pāḍḍana for me before the commencement of the possession ritual of the principal folk deities. However, he refused to oblige; he told me that he could sing the *pāḍḍana* only after the possession ritual of the main folk deities was over, and if he sang the *pāḍḍana* before, the principal deities would trouble him later. (Kukra Bangera: 1988)
11. According to the information provided to me by my informants, Vishvanatha Poojary and Vishvanatha Salian, there is Padapu Garodi in Aryapu village, at a distance of about nine and half km from Puttur; similarly, there is Agali Guttu Garodi at Manimajalu at a distance of around 15 km by the Puttur—>Darbe—>Subramanya road. (informed me vide a letter, dated 14th November 2000) In Mumbai, there are two *garodis*. There are around 222 *garodis*, including the *garodis* located in Mumbai, Madikeri, Mokkandooru, and Padapu. However this number is not the final figure, new *garodis* come up now and then; therefore, the number of *garodis* could be more than 222.

CHAPTER - 6

BERMER AND OTHER FOLK DEITIES

Bermer

The origin of Bermer

Tulu *pāḍḍanas* describe the origin of Bermer in different ways:

'A *kambula* field this side and a *kambula* field that side, and a rock in the middle; and breaking the rock emerges Bermer. Bermer must be established in the village, and five Brahmins must be contacted, and a five-day fire sacrifice must be performed.'

An account of the origin of Bermer is given in the beginning of Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana:

In the collection of A.C. Burnell:

In one of the versions of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana (translated into English) compiled by Burnell, we find the following account of the origin of Bermer:

'There was a country where Billavars were born. In the kingdom where the Billavars were born, there was a powerful city. There was also a Brahma (Bhuta), who was born, according to all the *Śāstras*. There was an Ani Ganga, a Mani Ganga, a Water Ganga, a Milk Ganga, a Curd Ganga, a blood Ganga, a hot Kanchi in the north, and a cold Kanchi in the Pāṭalam.'

'When this Brahma was being born, the inhabitants of the palaces of seven Kanchikaḍangas seemed to be thrown down, and night gave way to daylight. Brahma had on a wreath of silver flowers in a bunch on the left and a wreath of gold flowers in a bunch on the right. Kammulajje Brahma had silver strands on the left shoulder, and golden threads on the right. There were a silver umbrella with seven tops on his left, and a golden umbrella with nine tops on his right. There was a garland as long as a man, and a fan as long as a peacock's feather.'

'Kammulajje Brahma's birth was according to all the *Śāstras*. He had twelve attendants without legs and twelve who had trunkṡ without heads. Twelve girls there were to wave the lamps of coral and to sprinkle pearls on his head, and twelve servants to fan him with whisks of flowers. The first set of twelve and the second set of twelve—together forty-eight—attended on Kammulajje Brahma.'

'He who was born according to all the *Śāstras*, had five nerves in his leg, a Mullukavēr god on his knees, a serpent on his middle, five serpents on his head, a diamond within his heart, five diamonds of ten or sixteen sorts on his head, a figure of Bhîma and Arjuna on his back, Sankapāla (one of the serpents) on his left and another Sankapāla on the right, and a manikam and stars on his head.' (1895: 114)

According to Monte Gowda and Irappa Gowda:

In the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana sung by Monte Gowda and Irappa Gowda, you get the following description of the origin of Bermer:

'At the Kempu Male Kemmate Kariya, there is an anthill on the left side and an anthill on the right, and in the middle an anthill, (Bermer) appears. Across the seven seas, in the middle of the Bilu Samudra, there is Bermer who protects all of us. He is invested with all the good qualities: good fortune and a lot of wealth. He has a golden sacred thread on his right side and a silver sacred, on his left side. He possesses a silver serpent on his right. On his left, he wears a black cobra in the form of Ishvara. There is a serpent with seven hoods on his back and he has a seven-branched headgear. On his right side, there are a thousand cobras. He creates a hundred maidens and two Kenjava birds – a male and a female – which are not there in the natural world.' (1989)

According to Ramakka Poojarthi (1990):

The Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana sung by Ramakka Poojarthi gives the following narration of the origin of Bermer:

'In the middle of the salt water sea, the sea of sweet water, the sea of tears, the sea of blood, the Alli sea, the Sulli sea, the sea of moss, there is the seventh sea. In the middle of the seventh sea, the Sun God comes into existence. He emerges with the figures of lotus (*Padma rēkhe*) on his feet, a girdle around his waist, carries God on his stomach, and on his back, Berma Dever. Bermer has a crest on the crown of his head , a sectarian mark of musk on his forehead, and a nuptial ornament on his cheeks. He creates: six syllables on his palm; three syllables on his forearm; on the left side of his body, a sliver sacred thread; on the right side, a golden sacred thread; on his left side, a gong; and on the right side, a harmonium and a conch. He creates: a golden plate, a temple bell, a box to keep *gopi* clay, and a log of sandalwood, a whetstone. He creates a golden bower on his right and a silver bower, on his left; a shed of coconut leaves of six and a half and a roof of grass of three and half (*kōlus*). And then he creates a male Kenjava bird on his right and a female Kenjava bird, on his left.'

According to Babu Parava (1990) during a possession ritual:

Babu Parava, in the course of a possession ritual of Koti and Chennaya, has given the following account of the origin of Bermer:

'The place of birth of Bermer is there across seven rivers (*gange*) – Mavori Gange, water Gange, milk Gange, salt Gange, and hot)Gange across four oceans. In the middle of the seven rivers, there are seven serpents and a shrine of seven stones. In the Kanchi Gudi

Kall palace, Bermer emerges. He is the victorious Bermer of Kempulata; he is as stout as a Palmyra tree, as broad as a parasol, and as thin as a reed.' (1990)

Birth of Kēnjava Birds

This world originated from two mythological Kenjava birds created by the Sun God, according to Tulu *Pāḍḍanas*.

According to Burnell:

'...There was an Ani Gange, a strong wind, a strong rain, and very small drops of water, like *kunkuma* (turmeric flour). Drops of water fell on the ground and the ditches were filled up. Then god Narayana created a lotus, in which he created *kunkumas* also, and in the middle of these, he created a drake and a duck.' (1895: 115)

According to Monte Gowda and Irappa Gowda:

'When the anthill created by Bermer on his right side breaks, a male Kenjava bird is created, and when the anthill on his left side breaks, a female Kēnjava bird is created.' (1989)

According to Ramakka Poojarthi:

'...In the middle of the seventh sea, the Sun God emerges... He creates a male Kenjava bird on his right side and a female Kenjava bird on his left side.' (1990)

According to Koragappa Poojary:

'(There is) an anthill on the left; an anthill on the right; and in the middle, an anthill where cobras inhabit. A pair of birds takes birth in the anthill of the cobras. They peck at the pearls and eat pearls, and peck at the diamonds and eat diamonds, and live as brother and sister. (1988)

According to Dangu Panara:

'A Brahmin lad sits on a hot rock and performs penance. God Suryanarayana creates Ishvara on the right side of the lad; Parvati, on his left side; and a pair of birds, in the middle. He creates a garden for the birds to fly around, a pond for their amusement, a tree for their stay, a slab of stone for them to take rest, white rice and *sāme akki* (*Panicum miliaceum*) for them to feed; and directs them to live as brother and sister.' (1989)

Eager to get progeny, the Kenjava birds approach God Suryanarayana and he directs them to become husband and wife so that they could procreate. According one version of Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana, when the female Kenjava becomes pregnant, she makes a pledge to offer one of the eggs she lays to God Suryanarayana. The couple offers the first egg to God Suryanarayan and the third egg, to Ishvara. The second egg falls into a sea and a Brahmin gets it in the form a lemon. Deyi takes birth from this egg. Ekana Saler is born from the first egg, and Ginde Gili Ramu Deyyaru, from the third egg. Later, they get married and they beget a son, Bamalla Kumara, who later becomes Bermer.

In many *paḍḍanas*, there are detailed descriptions of the role of the sea in the origin of the universe. The origin of the universe is attributed to God Suryanarayana. He takes

birth in the sea and resides in the sea. However the birth of Bermer is explained naturally and he takes birth in the normal way. As he grows, he goes to play a ball game with demons (*asuras*), and they find him unbeatable. They treacherously push him into a well and seal the well with thorns and stone slabs. His mother comes to know about the incident. She reaches the well and expresses her milk into the well. As the milk drops into the well, he (Bermer) holds unto the stream of milk as if it were a string and comes out of the well.

The similar way of putting a hero into a well is found in many Tulu folk songs. The folk hero, Koḍdabbu also suffers the same fate. In all these cases, the hero in trouble is rescued by a woman. In the Tannimaniga legend, Tannimaniga slices the stone slab with her miraculous sickle and rescues Koḍdabbu; in the case of Bamukumara (Bermer), his mother rescues him. In the Tulu folklore, there are no instances when an extraordinary hero in trouble, seeks help of another extraordinary hero. The help comes, if at all, from a woman and not from a man.

Antiquity of Bermer

There is a need to understand clearly who Bermer is. Different authorities have expressed their considered views on Bermer.[1]

Polali Sheenappa Heggade (1954/1991: 126, 127) discusses Nagana Setti,[2] and Brahma Lingeshvara as referred to in Nagaraju Nagakanye Siri Pāḍḍana.

Govinda Pai (1947: 4 – 7) says that the original inhabitants of Tulunadu were Nagas, of the non-Aryan origin, who belonged to the Sanka caste. He suggests that Tulunadu was the land of Nagas.

According to Polali Sheenappa Heggade (1991: 128), the preceptors (*gurus)* of the Naga clan were Nagabrahmas. On the advice of their preceptors, some of the members of the Sanka clan went to the sea for fishing, some went hunting, some collected honey, and some extracted toddy from palm trees. Those among the Sanka clan who were weak and deficient in education were given food and clothing, and were advised to engage themselves in agriculture and business. At the time of crisis, the members of the Sanka clan approached their preceptors. The Brahmins who officiated as priests of Nagabrahma were called Nagabramanas.

Therefore, Nagabrahma is an anthropomorphic (human-form) power worshipped by an original community. Worshipping Nagabermer or Bermer is a part of an ancient culture.

There are references to Bermer in many Tulu *Pāḍḍanas*, for example, in Lekkesiri and Bobbarya Pāḍḍanas:

Baḍakāyi gangeḍd tenkāyi rāmēsara muṭṭa
Muḍāyi kāyeri gaṭṭaḍd paḍḍāyi nuguru poyya muṭṭa
Kaṭṭdi ill, jattdi bākil
Gaḍuvāḍ taloṭu
Nagajiḍe pāḍiḍ

Bermere gunḍa gaddigedavulu
Balinēma gettona satyolu enkulu...
'From the river (Gange) on the north, till Rameshvaram on the south
From the Kaveri ghats of the east till the fine sands of the west
From each house and from each household
In the jurisdictional boundaries of the folk deities,
In the groves where serpents with hoods are found
In the shrine of Bermer where there is a throne of Bermer
We receive oblations—that kind of supernatural powers we are...'

Bermer is the chief of the folk deities of Tulunadu. In this context Polali Sheenappa Heggade (1991: 131) writes,

'Even before the Vedic period, for the Tuluvas, Bermer was the creator of the universe, and he was their deity. The original deities of a family remain with Bermer. Bermer was worshipped as a household deity, a village deity, and the deity of a province. He was also worshipped collectively through the *pattēri kūṭa (pattēri kūṭa,* a village council).'

The original place of inhabitation (*ādi mūla*) of a family is called an *ālaḍe*. An *alade* is a spirit-complex where five folk deities are worshipped, *viz.*, Bermer or Brahma, Lekkesiri or Rakteshvari, Mayisandaya or Kshetrapala, Nandigona or Nandi, and Naga. Bermer is the presiding deity of an *alade*. Therefore, an *alade* is called a Brahmasthana, a *mulasthana*, or a Brahma Alade. Bermer is the presiding deity in a Brahma-Baiderle Garodi, Muggerle Kala, Kamberle Kotyya, and Siri Alade. Sometimes Bermer is shown as Vedic Brahma with four heads. Is the Bermer of the Tuluvas, the Vedic Brahma of Hindu mythology? Bermer is represented in different forms: Nagabermer, Brahmalingeshvara, Bhuta Brahma, and Yaksha Brahma.

Commenting on the nature of the Tuluva Bermer, Gururaja Bhat (1975: 355 - 6) writes,

'A few epigraphs in Tuḷuva mention the divinity *Brahmā* and very strangely this *Brahmā* (in Tuḷu *Berme*) is placed among the *Bhūtas* or devils. *Naga* (serpent) is also invariably associated with this divinity. An inscription of Hosaḷa, Udupi taluk, South Kanara, dated A.D. 1432 records the arrangement made for the offering of milk to *Brahmā* and *Naga*... Although it cannot be easily explained, how Brahma who occupies such an exalted position in the Hindu pantheon, is assigned such a degrading place amongst the devils (*Bhūtas*), we may hypothetically say that since devil-worship has been for centuries, the core of Tuḷuva cult amongst the non-Brahmins, Śiva, the Lord of the *Bhūtas*, himself may have been represented being called Brahma (*Bhūta-Brahma*).'

He writes further (p. 357), '...This concept of Brahma is also found among the Jains, who represent him as warrior divinity. According the Jaina pantheon, Brahma is the *Yaksha* of the tenth Tīrthankara, Śitaḷanātha...' According to him, the practice of feeding milk to Brahma and Naga was prevalent in *AD* 1437, and he cites the Hosala epigraph of Udupi taluk in support of this.

B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 a: 220) believes that the worship of Bermer predates the spirit worship. He writes, 'Many *pāḍdanas* refer to a unique form of a religious worship that existed prior to spirit worship, and this religious worship gave shape to the nature of the spirit worship of Tulunadu.'

Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian (1990: 83) argue that because of the Jain influence, the representation of Bermer as a Yakshabrahma cannot be denied: 'Jains ruled Tulunadu for many years as provincial rulers and the symbolic representation of their tradition of worshipping heroes is Yaksha Brahma. Therefore, the influence of the Yaksha Brahma of the Jains cannot be denied in the conceptualization of Bermer worshipped in the *garodis* of Tulunadu.'

In the 16th century, during the rule of Rani Abbakka of Ullala, the foreign traveller, Pietro Della Valle visited Tulunadu. He mentions the installation by Rani Abbakka of an idol of Bermer. He says, as reported by Nagegowda, H.L. (1977: 93),

'Bermer is said to be a powerful devil (*Bhuta*) and he is said to be the head of thousands of devils. There is a crown on the head of the idol of the *Bhuta*, and he has four hands. He holds a circular object in his right hand, and in other hand, a dagger. The idol is shown naked except for long hair between the legs.'

The Bermer idols installed in most of the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis reflect the synthesis of the Jain and the Nagabrahma conceptualizations of Bermer. There are horse-borne Yaksha Brahma idols and also the idols with a serpent hood. In recent years, even the Vedic Brahma with four hands has made his appearance in the *garodis*. Therefore, there are three types of Bermer idols in the *garodis*: Yaksha Brahma, Naga (serpent) Brahma, and the Vedic Brahma. (Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian: 1990: 82 –7)

In Yaddodi Ketumarakala Sandi, Ketu Marakala goes, with his friends, to a Brahma Sthana of Kananjar to fell a tree to make a boat. After building the boat, they make a sacrifice and offer worship to their clan deity, Lekkesiri. The deity blesses them. Once, the boat gets caught in a rough weather and Ketu Marakala offers a prayer to Nagabrahma and Lekkesiri.

Gururaja Bhat (1964: 254), highlighting the importance of Lekkesiri folk deity for the Tuluvas, writes, 'For Tuluvas, Lekkesiri or Rakthçsvari and Ishvara or Bīra are the main deities.'

Bermer as a place name

The antiquity of Bermer can be assessed on the basis of some of the place names and surnames. Some examples of the place names are: Birmottu, near Naravi, in Beltangadi taluk; Bommarottu, near Hiriyadka of Udupi taluk; and Brahmara Kutalu, in Bantwal taluk.

Jagadish B. Shetty (1988), in an article in the *Udayavani* newspaper says that the Kadri inscription of *AD* 1311 found in Brahmavar, Udupi taluk, mentions one, Bommana Gadde (*gadde*, a paddy field).

The names: Bermere Gudde, Kalabettu Uri Bermasthala, Podikalaya Brahma, Bermere Bana, Bermere Kall, and Bermere Sāna are the places of worship of Bermer. Some of them might be *ālaḍes*. Kempu Kepulaje Jayalla Bermer that occurs in Tulu folk songs is the name of the Brahma of the Kemmale hill. Pietro Della Valle has written about the Narayana Betta of the time of Rani Abbakka. There is a shrine of Yaksha Brahma on the hillock near the bank of Aladangadi river of Beltangadi taluk.

Bermer is the main deity in the 217 Koti Chennaya Garodis. These shrines are now called Brahma-Baiderle Garodis. Bermer is the main deity in a shrine of the Mugēra deities. The shrine of Bermer is the main shrine in the Kavattar, Nandalike, Nidgallu, and Hiriyadka Siri *ālaḍes*. In Tulu folk songs, there are many references to Bermer Gundi (*gundi*, a deep pond or a river) and Brahma Kere (*kere*, a pond).

Bermer as names of persons

B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 a: 397) has listed certain names that occur in the *pāḍḍanas* which have Berma as a part of the name or Berma as the name itself: Bermu, Birmana, Bommaye, Bommane, Birma Alva, Bermane, Birmana Baidye, Bidina Bommaya, Bīru Bermana, Ugrani Bommaya, and Birmana Shetty.

In another context (1986: 92), he has given another list of names with Berma as a part of the name: Biruma Kottari, Bermu Nalke, and Perumanna Ballala. One of the castes (*nirubalis*) that figures in the Bhutala Pandya edict is Bermarannaya; and one of the seven brothers of Bobbarya was Ganḍa Bommaye.

The surnames, Brahmmayya, and Bommayya are found in the Reddy community; the name Katta Bomman occurs in Tamil, and in Malayalam, there is a surname, Brahmanan.

In the 12th century, a slave by the name Bomma was sent from Mangalore to Eden of Egypt. Amitav Ghosh of Calcutta mentions this episode in his, *In an Antique Land*. B.A. Vivek Rai refers to this book in one of his articles. (Vivek Rai: 1992) Amitav Ghosh feels that Bomma might be a Mogaveera of Tulunadu as evidenced by the worship of Bobbarya by the Mogaveera community.

B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 *a*: 92), in another context, writes that the Byari who became a member of the Bermer retinue was Bobbarya. He says that the name Bobbarya is derived from the name, Bermer Byāri: Bermer Byāri—>Bomma Byāri—>Bobba Byāri—>Bobbāri—>Bobbarya.

Bermer among folk deities

In the list of 360 Bhutas (folk deities) compiled by Chinnappa Gowda (1990: 34 - 39), there are some names related to Bermer: Birme Manilu, Bermer Bhuta, Bermer, Nagabermer, Uribermer, Berma Rakkase, Bommartaye, Birmerajji, Baramalttaye, and Bamukumara.

In Uttara Karnataka, a pillar called Bharamappa[3] is worshipped and the food offering

is made to the pillar. Bharamappa is one of the prominent deities worshipped by the shepherd community. His festival is celebrated for the protection of the cattle. Bharamappa deity does not have a separate shrine or things associated with him. On the festive occasions, a pillar of the house or any pillar, becomes Bharamappa; on the remaining days, it remains just a pillar. In Ballari, there is a 'Gundukallu Bharamappa' (*gunḍukallu*, a big, spherical stone). (Hiremath: S. S.: 1992: 14 – 15) There is a Brahma temple at Anevalu village of Mysore. (Hampa Nagarajayya: 1976: 39)

Bermer in the inscriptions

There are references to Bermer in certain epigraphs. In one of the stone inscriptions of Basruru, there is a mention of Sanjodiya Brahma, and in another, Hutterike Brahma.

Other references to Brahma in the inscriptions are: An inscription of *AD* 1402 refers to Brahmarala; in a Barkuru inscription dated *AD* 1458, a gift of land to Rajadi Brahma is recorded; in the inscription of *AD* 1459, there is a reference to Kudura Hedekuddodi Brahma; the Uppunda inscription of *AD* 1482 mentions Kana Brahma; the Avarse inscription of *AD* 1544, refers to a shrine of Brahma.

Peter J. Claus[4] (1978 b: 6 - 7) has commented on the nature of the Bermer spirit worshipped by the Tuluvas. He writes,

'...In both the *Pāḍḍana* literature and the temple icons, he (Bermer) is represented as a royal warrior, seated on a horse, shaded by an umbrella and carrying a sword. While Bhatt (Gururaj) for some reasons sees this as Jain influence, there is no reason to suppose this character does not predate the known introduction of Jainism in the area around the 13th or 14th century. The concept of the shrine as a palace (*āluḍe* from *ālu* + *aḍe*, "place of rule"), and the *mūlasthāna* as the centre of a realm, point to Brahma, or Bermeru, as being thought as a king. The association of Brahma with the Naga is not contrary to this image but complementary to it. Representations of Naga-Brahma show him with the lower portion of his body as that of a serpent, while the upper half is that of a man carrying either a sword or a royal-staff. The representation of Brahma and Naga, then, can be of the king with two related functions, *i.e.*, protection and prosperity separated or combined.'

'It does not appear that until the 14th century, at the very end of the almost incredibly long, thousand-year reign of the Alupas, that Brahma begins to be represented in his classical four-headed form, and the Naga becomes associated with Subramaṇia... Even today, the shrines of a number of *Bhuta* contain what is called a Bermeru *gunḍa* (or *guḍi*, "a shrine") and propitiation is done by a non-Brahmin priest... '

'...Inscriptional references to a god named Bermeru, worshipped by the earliest known Tuluva dynastic family and associated with a royal fertility and renewal cult are very ancient...Bermeru was originally a forest deity identified as a king and closely connected with temporal sovereignty. In order to maintain the vitality, prosperity and order of the realm, the temporal king must propitiate this deity...'

Tuluvas belong to the Naga clan. Every family of this clan offers worship at a specific *alade*, or the place of origin. Nagabrahma and Lekkesiri are the principal deities in an *alade*. The members of the Naga clan used to inscribe the image of Brahma on the ornaments used by them, and on the ornaments used to adorn their deities. The image of serpent or serpent hood used to be engraved on agricultural equipment, on door frames of houses, and on boats.

Tuluvas are believed to be *sati putraru*. Perhaps the expression is *satya putraru* (people who are truthful or those who worship *satyolu i.e.*, folk deities). There are allusions to testing a person whether he is telling the truth or not by making him take a dip in a cauldron filled with boiling oil, or make him touch a hot metal ball, or the hood of a serpent. The accused would invoke his family deity—Nagabrahma—and subject himself to the test. It is said that because of the grace of Nagabrahma, he would come out of the ordeal, unblemished. The folk deities like, Nagabrahma are called *satyolu*. The expression *satyolu* must have originated from the fact that these folk deities encouraged people to tell truth. The place where propitiation of Bermer was a prominent ritual must have been Satyanapura. Biruma Aluva, who ruled Tulunadu during the ancient times, must have belonged to the Alupa dynasty. Before the arrival of Jains in Tulunadu, there were various communities living here: The person who ruled a village was a Setti, the person who sold the merchandise received from ships was a Pāluva; a big landlord, a Bāraga; and the persons who assisted a *guttu* were Nayigas, Punjas, Heggades, Pujaris, Kottaris, Bhandaris, and Atikaris. (Sheenappa Heggade: 1991: 181)

Who is the God that the common people worship? Who is Lord Narayana?

The God that a common man invokes in daily life is a formless god. For him, the force that created this world is God; he calls him Narayana.

Lord Narayana is a non-Vedic conceptualization of God. Later, the Vedic literature sought to link water and Lord Narayana. The same Narayana became Vishnu in the Vedic literature. The conceptualizations of Vasudeva and Krishna were a later development. In the Post-Vedic literature, Lord Narayana becomes Vishnu of the Vaishnava Purana (mythology on Lord Vishnu). Lord Narayan is *nārā*, *i.e.*, the divinity who sleeps on water.

D. D. Kosambi (1962: 20 - 21) has commented on the non-Vedic origin of Lord Narayana:

'Narayana is a water-deity. Naga (serpent) makes Narayana lie down on his coil. Here Naga appears as the vehicle of Lord Narayana. Similarly Nandi (a bull) is the vehicle of Shiva, and Garuda (an eagle), the vehicle of Vishnu.'

It is probable that a main deity is identified by its vehicle. Nandi is worshipped in a culture dominated by agriculture. If this kind of relationship is understood (identification of the vehicle of a deity as the deity itself), the conceptualization of Naga-Bermer can be understood. Even Naga is a deity. Mythicizing a vehicle of the deity as the deity itself is the result of expressing mythology through worship traditions. (Rajarama Hegade: 1993: 22–3)

An aboriginal community may worship the vehicle of a deity as a totem and the totemic spirit is supposed to protect the community.

According to Devi Prasad Chattopadhyaya (1979: 22), when an aboriginal community subdues another aboriginal community and brings it under its control, the deity of the community that was subdued might have been made the vehicle of the deity of the conqueror.

Lord Narayana is the Sun God. The Sun-cult of the Middle Ages suggests that the sun is the creator of this universe. Some of the aboriginal communities, like the Koraga community, are sun worshippers.

The natural forces—rain, light, water, wind, and life in general—depend on the sun. The sun is the creator of this world and hence he becomes Lord Narayana, or Brahma of the Hindu mythology. Koragas believe that Lord Narayana protects them sitting inside their mythical drum (as they play the drum).

After seeking the consent of Lord Narayana, the brother-sister pair of Kenjava birds becomes husband and wife so that they could procreate. This shows that Lord Narayana is the fertility deity. When everything submerges in water, *sūrya bāri dēver* and Bermer emerge. It means that Bermer and the Sun God are not different deities; they are the same supernatural powerp.

Reference in the *pāḍdanas* to the creation of lotus flowers in every pit / ponds (*palla*) by God Narayana when a strong wind blows over Anigange; and rain drops falling into the pits / ponds is nothing but the creation of the world. The sun is the originator of this universe.

The Narayana temple set up by Queen Abbakka on the top of the hill as mentioned by Pietro Della Valle is the temple of Brahma. Worshipping Bermer as the head of the Bhuta pantheon by Queen Abbakka is not surprising.

Folk deities like Nagabrahma, Bhutabrahma, Yakshabrahma, and Brahma take other folk deities under their wing.

In Siri Alades, Bermer is the presiding deity. Commenting on the connection between Naga and Bermer, Peter J. Claus (1978 b: 6 – 7) writes: 'The association of Brahma with Nāga is not contrary to this image (of Bermer symbolizing the king), but complementary to it…The representation of Brahma and Nāga, then, can be of the king with related functions, i.e., protection and prosperity separated or combined.'

The practice of a presiding deity protecting its retinue deities is found everywhere. The Naga deity has continued as a subordinate deity since the time of Buddha. The ancient worship tradition of Naga Devate (serpent spirit) has taken different forms. The allusions in the Vedic mythologies to the enmity between cobra and eagle, or Krishna killing the king cobra are indicative of the invasion on the village culture and the resultant conflict. Historically, the idea of the existence of certain aboriginal Naga communities has been supported by some people. In the Naga culture, worship of Naga was a prominent element once upon a time. (Heinrich Zimmer: 1990: 75)

In most of the *garodis*, Bermer is shown seated on the back of a horse. In some *garodis*, Bermer carries a trident instead of a sword (for example, Poyye Pudikall Garodi). There are idols of Bermer that do not carry any weapon and show Bermer in a blessing posture.

The original representation of Bermer is in the form of Nagabrahma. The worship of Nagabrahma is one of the most ancient religious practices of Hindus. The serpent worship is a Dravidian cultural element accepted by the Aryans.

Nagabrahma was originally a fertility deity. The original inhabitants of India during the time of the Ṛg Veda were the devotees of Shivabrahma, and they did not accept the dominance of the Aryans.

According to Peruru Jaru (1994),

'Shiva was the deity of the aboriginal communities. The members of the aboriginal communities, to protect them, used to apply ash on their persons. They started worshipping serpents since serpents caused death. The aborigins wore animal skin. The spear used by the aboriginal communities became trident at a later stage. Today we offer trident to Shiva as well as Devi.'

The swords, of Baiderlu, and the arrow are the modified versions of the spear of the aboriginal communities. In the Indus Vally artefacts, prototypes of Devi, Shiva and dwelling units have been found. Shiva and his consort, Parvati might have been transformed into Bermer and Lekkesiri of the Tuluvas. Even in the *alades*, Bermer and Lekkesiri are the principal deities.

The Ṛg Veda does not say anything specific about Brahma. At the end of the Ṛg Veda, there are references to the Creator, or Prajapati.

The word *brahma* is derived from the root *bṛah*, which means expanse, or development. The Upanishads discuss the nature of Brahma as the Creator, and his relationship with the self (*atman*), and the self and the universe.

Before creation, there was only Brahma. He thinks of multiplying himself and hence he creates light; from light he creates water; and from water, food. These three constitute the world of the living. With the help of the words, *sat*, *atman*, *brahma*, *akṣara*, and ākāśa, Brahma creates the world and the world beyond (Niranjana: 1973: 417)

It was in the Mahabharata that the name Narayana came to be applied to Vishnu. Surya (Sun God) has remained as a deity since the Vedic period. During the period prior to the Christian era, Sun God was a very popular deity. (R.C. Mujamdar, quoted by Shripati Tantri: 1994: 57)

A.P. Karamkar, quoted by Shripati Tantri (p. 58) says that *narayana* is a Dravidian word (*nāra*, water, *āyana*, seat). Representation of Narayana as Vishnu lying on a coil of serpent is found more in the south than in the north.

The deities, Takshaka and Maya, who were responsible for the creation and maintenance of the world, were originally from the Naga stock. This is narrated in a folk song on Kenjava birds sung by Dangu Panara. (1989)

Worship of Yakshas and Yakshis

Some authorities are of the view that Yaksha worship was a prominent feature in the ancient village culture. Yaksha was originally an important deity; then joins devils and becomes a wicked (*kṣudra*) divinity. (Anandakumara Swami: 1971: 4 - 5)

Rajarama Hegade (1993: 19) provides the following perspective regarding the worship of Yakshas:

'In the classical traditions, Yakshas are described as Bhutas, Rākshasas, Sylvan or forest deities. Perhaps some of the natural forces worshipped in the ancient India were later called Yakshas... In the Brahmin-Jain divine world, Yakshas appear as subordinate deities of Indra. The human figures engraved in the sculptures of Buddhist temples that appear as devotees with folded hands are Yakshas. In the Jain scriptures, Yakshas and Yakshis appear as devotees of the Jain saints...According to the Jataka stories (of Buddhism), Yakshas and Yakshis were worshipped in different ways: By playing music, performing sacrifice, lighting lamps, or waving incense in the incense-tray.'

Anandakumara Swami (1971: 27 - 31) mentions different offerings made to the Yakshas—flags, bells, peacock feathers, books, flowers, lamps, and food. He also iterates that ancient idols of Shiva, Vishnu and Sankarṣaṇa Ganapati are conceptualized in the mode Yakshas.

Hampa Nagarajayya (1976: 2), commenting on the nature of Yakshas, says that Yakshas and Yakshis could change their appearance at will. He further elaborates that in the Indian literature you get descriptions of Yakshas playing different roles: deities of trees (*vṛakṣa dēvate*), Sylvan deities, kind-hearted deities, war deities, great warriors, doorkeepers, and as deities of the Jain saints (*Tīrthankarara śāsana dēvate*).

The poet, Pancha Bhana (1614), in his *Bhujabali Charite* (Story of Bhujabali) has composed poems, *Yaksha Dīpa*, *Bettada Brahma*, and *Padmavati*, in *Sāngatya* meter. In the poems, he praises Tyagada Brahma, Bettada Brahma, and Kambada Yakshini. In a way the worship of Yakshas and Yakshis is similar to mother-worship. A horse-borne Yaksha, who was the servant of the 10th Tīrthankara, Shitalanatha is worshipped as Brahma by both the Jain sects—Shvetambara and Digambara. The members of the Digambara sect worship Brahma Yaksha with devotion and fear. There are many idols of Yaksha Brahma in Karnataka. In some of the Jain temples, there are idols of the Brahma deity. (*ibid*: 105)

There is a shrine on top of the hill near the Aladangadi river of Beltangadi, Dakshina Kannada; and the name of the deity installed in the shrine is Bettada Brahma (Brahma of the Hill). He carries some fruit in his outstretched left hand, and in his right hand, a sword. He is shown wearing a crown on his head, some ornaments around his neck, a waist-band around his waist, a pair of anklets on his feet, a pair of ear-ornaments on his ears.

In most *garodis*, Bermer is shown seated on a horse. In some *garodis*, he is shown carrying a trident rather than a dagger, for example, Poyye Podikall Garodi. There are also Bermer idols without any weapon.

The original conceptualization of Brahma is Nagabrahma. The worship of *naga* is one of the ancient forms of worship of the Hindus. Among the aspects of the Dravidian culture assimilated by the Aryans, the *naga* tradition is one.

The vehicle of Brahma Yaksha is a horse. Those who worship Brahma Yaksha as their family deity do not sit on the horse. According to Chandrashekhara Kambara (1976: 105), 'The conceptualization of Yakshas and Yakshis entered Jainism and Buddhism because of the influence of common people... Among the members of the Digambara sect of Jainism, names like, Brahmayya, Brahmappa, Brahmanna, Brahma Surayya, and Brahma Ramappa are found. Brahma Yaksha has white complexion.'

Those who worship folk deities work continuously to ensure the power and glory of their folk deities, and also theirs own; but, the task of protecting the power and glory of the folk deities is relegated to the folk deities themselves. They also transfer (transference) the responsibility of punishing their enemies to their folk deities. Shifting of responsibility is projection (blaming others). The folk deities worshipped by a ruler were supposed to safeguard the glory and fortune of his realm. There was a close relationship between the temporal domain presided over by a ruler and the supernatural realm controlled by the folk deities that he / she worshipped.

In this context, Peter J. Claus (1979 b: 97) provides the following insight into the bipartite world of the Tuluvas, 'The supernatural world, Māya, the Realm of Illusion, does not exist so much in a different place as in a different time and mode. It is the realm of the spirits and the ancestors. When and where the two realms meet strange things happen.'

Kujumba Kanja

In the Brahma-Baiderle Garodis, Kujumba Kanja enjoys the status and position similar to that of Koti and Chennaya. This is unique as well as interesting.

Kujumba Kanja Pāḍdana

In the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and in the stories of Koti and Chennaya, we do not get many details on Kujumba Kanja. However, in A.C. Burnell's collection, there is a reference to Kujumba Kanja.

Before going to the battle, Koti and Chennaya, '...were prepared to write a letter to their brother-in-law, Elkate Bangar Kujumba Kajer at a dry land in Uppucheker Bal, to whom they sent a letter to come in a *ghaḷige*...They put jewels in their ears, and while they were putting a thick cloth on their shoulders, their brother-in-law arrived. They tell him,

"Do you remain here cultivating the land thrice in a year. If we return, we shall take back our house and property. If not, everything belongs to you" they said to him...' (Burnell: 1895: 270)

While singing the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, generally, the Kujumba Kanja Pāḍdana

is not sung. However, Ramakka Poojarti (referred to earlier) sings the *pāḍdana* of Kujumba Kanja as she sings the *pāḍdana* of the twins. In her rendition, there is a reference to Uppusekere Bettu. Kujumba Kanja was the son of uncle of Koti Chennaya. It seems he took his share of property and shifted his residence from Eryanagala Guttu to Uppusekere Bettu. During the *nema* festival of Koti Chennaya, the *pāḍdana* describing the birth and development of Kujumba Kanja is also sung.

Legends on Kujumba Kanja

1. Kujumba Kanja is the son of Elkatte Kanja and Pukabbe Kajedi of Arengila Parengila Guttu. When the spirit-dancer Ramu Pambada is on his way to a *garodi* to sing the folk song of Koti and Chennaya, he meets Kujumba Kanja. Kujumba Kanja asks Ramu where he is going. Ramu replies that he is going to the *garodi* to sing Koti Chennaya Bīra. Kujumba Kanja insists that before he sings the *bīra* of Koti and Chennaya, he should first sing his *bīra* (folk song).

Ramu is in a fix. He murmurs to himself, 'If I sing your *bīra*, the members of the *guttu* household would get angry, and if I do not sing, you would break my bones.'

Therefore, out of fear, he sings the *bīra* on the life of Kujumba Kanja. When Ramu goes to the *guttu* house, the members of the *guttu* household ask him about the new *bīra* he sang. He tells the truth. They complain to the deities Koti and Chennaya. The deities make Kujumba Kanja disappear into the Realm of Illusion. (Appu Poojari: Garadi Mane: 1989)

2. Kujumba Kanja is a Banta. One day he sees the Bhuta performers on their way to a *kōla* ceremony where they are scheduled to impersonate Koti and Chennaya and sing their *bīra*. He tells them to sing his *bīra*. They do as directed. Then they complain to the deities Koti and Chennaya; Koti and Chennaya make him disappear into the spiritual world and position him in between them. As a result, Koti-Kujumba Kanja-Chennaya came to be worshipped together in the *garodis*. (Dangu Panara: 1989)

3. Koti and Chennaya are on their way to a *kōla* festival disguised as Parava Bhuta performers. A toddy-tapper, who is drawing toddy from a palm tree, asks them where they are going. They reply that they are going to Enmur Garodi to receive *paḍiyari*. The toddy tapper replies, 'What? They died not long ago, and for them the *kōla* festival? In that case, receive some broken rice grains to perform my *kōla* festival as well.'

Koti and Chennaya disappear from there and surface in Enmur Garodi. In the meanwhile the toddy tapper falls down from the Palmyra tree and dies. Koti and Chennaya take him under their wing since they needed a helper. (Sadashiva Kankanadi: 1989)

4. Kujumba Kanja is the brother-in-law of Enmur Ballala. One day he sees Pambadas (Pambadas, a community of professional Bhuta impersonators) going somewhere carrying with them their cane-trunk (*pīṭha*). He asks them where they are going. They tell him that there is the first *kōla* festival of Koti and Chennaya at Enmur Garodi and they are going there

to impersonate Koti and Chennaya at the festival. Whether it is because of jealousy or out of a premonition that his end is nearing, Kujumba Kanja asks them to sing a *bīra* on his life.

They tell him,

'You are still alive. However if you wish, we will sing a *bīra* on your life; but, please tell us how to sing your *bīra* since you are still alive.'

He replies: 'From the dried areca spathes, make an image of mine; place a crown on its head, and tie the image to one of the pillars of the pandal (raised for the *kōla* festival). And then sing the *bīra* addressed to the image.'

Pambadas do the same as instructed. However, Kujumba Kanja dies suddenly.

Since the *bīra* of Kujumba Kanja cannot be sung in the beginning of the *kōla* festival of Koti and Chennaya, Koti and Chennaya take him under their fold so that his *bīra* could be narrated along with the *bīra* of their lives. (Narayana Poojari: 1990)

5. The land at Banta Bara Guttu belongs to Koti and Chennaya. Kaju Kujumba informs his mother that he is going to graze calves and he goes out. On the way he notices the Banta Bara Guttu and he likes the place very much. He goes and tells his mother that he wants that land. His mother tells him that the land belongs to Koti and Chennaya; therefore he cannot get that land. He is persistent. He goes to the Banta Bara Guttu; Koti and Chennaya send a serpent to deter him from going to their land. But he successfully evades the serpent. Koti and Chennaya, disguised as potters, try to stop him; but, he goes ahead of Koti and Chennaya. Koti and Chennaya place logs of wood on his way; he crosses the logs. Then Koti and Chennaya appear as washermen; but he evades them. He goes to the Banta Bara Guttu. He gets the fields cultivated. When he ploughs one of the fields, he finds a stone. He trips on the stone and falls down. He is lifted and taken to the veranda of the *guttu* house. He sends a letter to his mother. She comes and tells him,

'I had told you that the land belongs to Banta Barana Guttu. Still you did not listen.'

She puts a few drops of water with a twig of the basil plant into his mouth. At that time he tells,

'O Bantas (addressing Koti and Chennaya), I knew that the land belonged to you; but, still I persisted. What should be done now?'

They reply, 'Henceforth, you will remain with us and you will be called our brother-in-law.' (Anni Shirtadi: 1990)

6. One day when Paravas are on their way to a festival of Baiderlu, they find Kujumba chopping the branches of a mango tree. He is from the Shetty caste. He asks them where they are going. They tell him that they are going to a *kōla* festival of Koti and Chennaya. Then he tells them to receive *paḍiyari* on his behalf as well. They receive *paḍiyari*, but Kujumba dies suddenly. His spirit joins the ranks of Koti and Chennaya. (Subba Poojari: 1990)

7. Kujumba Kanja belongs to the famous Parmale household. After Koti and Chennaya leave Parmale, setting a deadline on Parmale, their *kambula* field at Eraje lies fallow and

nobody comes forward to cultivate it. Kujumba Kanja shows interest in their field. His father Elkatta Kanja advises him, 'My son, *Baiderlu* are supernatural persons; do not interfere with their field.'

He does not heed to the advice, carries a yoke and plough and enters their *kambula* field. At the same time, one Ramu of the Pambada community is passing by that field, singing the song of the heroic deeds of Koti and Chennaya. Kujumba Kanja tells him to sing a song on his life instead. At this juncture Ramu is reported to have said, 'In between the two, you might become the third,' and singing the heroic song of Koti and Chennaya, he goes to Parmale. All people including the Ballala have been waiting for Ramu. They ask why he is late. It seems, he narrates the entire story of Kujumba Kanja.

Once Kujumba Kanja reaches his house, he does not get up from his bed. The members of the family go to some astrologer to seek relief for his illness. They are told, 'Give him a sprout that has grown in the field of Baider.'

The remedy does not work. He discards his body and enters the heavenly abode. Then, he joins Koti and Chennaya and remains with them. Therefore, his idol is kept on the right side of Bermer and the idols of Baider, on the left side of Bermer. (Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian: 1990: 100–101)

8. Kujumba Kanja is from the Bunt caste. He is the only son of his mother. He has no one to fall back upon. He requests Baidyerlu, 'Please take me with you.' They tell him to make an offering to Bermer. After making the offering, they take him with them. (K. M. Bhat: 1991)

Although there are no fundamental differences between Burnell's version of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and the version rendered by Ramakka Poojarti; there are differences in the motif. Kujumba Kanja is shown as the brother-in-law of Koti Chennaya in the different versions of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and in the legends on him. However, this relationship is not clearly brought out. According to some legends, his caste is quite different from the caste to which Koti Chennaya belonged. According to one legend, he is from a different place altogether. It appears that Kujumba Kanja joins the ranks of Koti and Chennaya after they attain divinity.

Who was Kujumba Kanja?

When you examine the idols installed in the *garodis*, we are told that the idol installed along with the idols of Koti and Chennaya is of the brother-in-law of Koti Chennaya. But there is no clarity regarding who this brother-in-law is. Some maintain that he is Payya Baidya, and according to some others, he is Chandugidi. Still, some are of the opinion that he is a nephew of Kantanna Baidya.

There is also a view that Kinnidaru, elder sister of Koti Chennaya is given away in marriage to Kanja. In support of this, they cite the Mugerle legend where Enmur Deyya arranges the marriage of his sister, Tannimaniga with Bhadra Kadenju (Kelata Perne?).

Some authorities suggest that Kujumba Kanja is Bermer, the family deity of Koti Chennaya.

Chinnappa Gowda maintains that Kujumba Kanja is the corrupt form of the name, Kāntaṇṇa. He writes, 'Kāntaṇṇa Baidyer became Kānta Baidyer, and Kānta Baidyer then became Kanjaver: Kāntaṇṇa Baidyer—>Kānta Baidyer—>Kanjaver. Therefore, Kujumba Kanja is in fact their (Koti and Chennaya's) father, Kāntaṇṇa, and he is worshipped along with his children.' (1990: 184)

However, there is no support for this view either in the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana or the legends on Kujumba Kanja.

It is more plausible that Kujumba Kanja is Payya Baidya. The support for this view comes from Mugerle Pāḍdana. Mugerlu are also three divinities—Enmur Deyya; his brother-in-law, Kelata Perne; and Bhadra Kadenju. (Abhayakumar: 1990: 6) The position of Kujumba Kanja of the Koti Chennaya legend is similar to the position of Bhadra Kadenju (Bhadra Kadju / Bhadra Kaju) of the Mugerle legend.

The Baiderlu are two divinities, Koti and Chennaya, and Kujumba Kanja is the third divinity. Each divinity has a specific position: Koti is on the right side; Kujumba Kanja, in the middle; and Chennaya, on the left side. At the *nēma* festival of Baiderlu, impersonators of the three divinities move and dance in the formation of three. There are no major differences between Koti, Chennaya and Kujumba Kanja in dress, facial painting, adornment, and the weapons they carry.

The conceptualization of Kujumba Kanja is that of a warrior. He also carries a *suriya* (sword). In a *garodi*, the idols of Koti and Chennaya are installed on the left side of the idol of Bermer, and that of Kujumba Kanja, on the right side.

It is better to examine the relationship between Kujumba Kanja and his worship in the *garodi* than to investigate his relationship as described in the legends. [5]

In Devu Punja Pāḍdana, there is a mention of a hunter, Kujumba. Devu Punja defeats in a battle heroes like Veera Duggana Konde and Annupainu. As he proceeds with his conquest, he meets a hunter, Kujumba, a hero of the Baidya community. Kujumba is supposed to be very courageous, clever, and a battle-fatigued warrior. He lays traps and snarls everywhere in the village. He sets up a fort with large boulders and erects a ladder into the sky. At the entrance to the fort, he stands, guarding it like a Betala (a mythological figure). Devu Punja realizes that he cannot defeat Kujumba in the normal way. Therefore, he befriends Kujumba and deceitfully kills him. As Kujumba is in death throes, he curses Devu Punja,

'Let your relatives have no truck with cheats like you. On the occasion of your funeral, let your relatives curse you. Let your relatives also become the victims of treachery. Let someone unknown to you cause your death.' (U. Narayana: 1973: 41 – 3)

Later Devu Punja becomes a victim of treachery and meets a tragic death.

The above story indicates that Kujumba was a warrior, courageous person, and hunter.

References to combat training, combat stratagems, and hunting appear in many contexts on the Koti Chennaya legend.

But still, who Kujumba Kanja is, is not clear. Since he is worshipped along with Koti and Chennaya, he must also be a warrior. From different *pāḍdanas* and legends, it is clear that there were others from the Billava community, apart from Koti and Chennaya, who were trained in combat skills. Kujumba, the hunter who fought against Devu Puja, must have been a courageous person. However was he a contemporary of Koti and Chennaya?

There is a possibility that Jains and Bunts must have started worshipping Kujumba because of the curse he put on their clans. The justification for this argument is, it was the Ballalas who started worshipping Koti and Chennaya by setting up their *garodis*, and after the Ballalas the worship tradition was continued by Jains, Bunts, and Billavas. Originally, only Koti and Chennaya received worship in the *garodis*. Then at some stage, unknown though, Kujumba Kanja must have started receiving this honour.

In the different versions of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, there are references to hunting by Koti and Chennaya. The Mugera heroes also hunt wild boars, and go fishing. In such hunting expeditions, it might have been normal for a brother-in-law of the heroes to accompany them. However, if he is worshipped along with them, it is necessary to question his worthiness to be worshipped. In the *pāḍdanas*, Payya Baidya is quite often shown a timid person.

In the Moodabidre region, a third folk deity, Hirihayinar is worshipped along with Kalkuda and Kallurti deities.

There are instances in spirit worship where a person, who revolted against someone, was killed, and after his death, he was worshipped along with the persons who were responsible for his death.

You could perhaps state in a nutshell the functions of the Kujumba Kanja legends as follows:

1. Strengthening the belief that Koti and Chennaya were (are) supernatural beings and appropriating their land meant serious consequences.

2. Toddy tapping is a strenuous physical activity, and hence a toddy tapper should concentrate on the job at hand rather than indulge in loose talks with the passers-by.

Originally, the character of Kujumba Kanja might not have been there in the *pāḍdanas* and the legends, but still you have to look at his position from the perspective of the fact that he has earned a place in the performing ritual theatre of Tulunadu.

Mayandal

One of the retinue deities worshipped in the *garodi* is Māyandāl, and she is a female deity. Worship of female deities is another prominent feature of the spirit worship tradition of the Tuluvas. Most of the village folk deities in Tulunadu are female deities, for example, Mayandal, Tannimaniga, and others.

Although different versions of Mayandal Pāḍdana were available, the Mayandal Pāḍdana was not documented and hence in the collections of *pāḍdanas* of the last century, there was no mention of the Mayandal Pāḍdana. Perhaps it was because Mayandal is worshipped as a retinue deity in most of the *garodis* and in many instances the deity does not have an independent shrine.

Peter J. Claus (1979 b: 97) is the first person to conduct a detailed study of Mayandal Pāḍdana. He has recorded the *pāḍdana* sung by one Kargi, of the Mundala caste of Ajar village, near Hiriyadka. He has translated it into English, providing an elaborate commentary. He writes in the *Introduction* to his article, *Mayandala: A Legend and Possession Cult of Tulunadu*,

'...For the purpose of discussing the religious beliefs of the Tuluvas, no better *Pāḍdana* than the Mayandala can be found. It makes it explicit most of the religious assumptions which underlie the cult traditions. Further, the Mayandala cult, though ancient, is suddenly growing in popularity. Hence we have time, depth and popularity to account for, since the *Pāḍdanas* do not merely represent a static past, but a dynamically related past and present.'

Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian (1990: 203 – 224) have given the Kannada translation of the Mayandal Pāḍdana and described in details the place of birth of Mayandal, her position in the *garodis*, and the socio-cultural life reflected in Mayandal Pāḍdana.

However, the preceding Mayandal *Pāḍdana* texts were not collected during the actual *kōla* performance of Mayandal.

The worship of Mayandal is as popular as the worship of Koti and Chennaya. She is a subordinate deity in the *garodis*. The worship of a female deity associated with certain cultural heroes of Tulunadu is not confined to Mayandal alone. Tannimaniga, a female deity, is worshipped with Mugerlu and Koḍdabbu folk deities; and Kallurti, another female folk deity is worshipped along with Kalkuda. According to the relevant legends, these female deities had rendered help to the cultural heroes when they faced some problems. Though Kallurti is sister of Kalkuda, she is viewed as more powerful than her brother.

In the festivals of folk deities organized by Jains and Bunts, the female deities belonging to their own communities seem to get prominence.

Though Mayandal is not a fertility deity, yet she is believed to take care of women's concerns: She is the deity whom women invoke during childbirth; they offer prayer to her for the well-being of the new mother and her baby; and offer prayers to seek the protection of the calves in the cowshed. Women invoke her at the time of difficulties as well as in happy days. Although medical facilities in modern times have considerably improved, the belief in the efficacy of the religious practices in addressing the health-related problems of people has not shown any decrease. In fact more and more have started worshipping Mayandal and the importance she enjoys has surpassed that of the main deities.

Mayandal has achieved importance as the deity of childbirth. During childbirth not only the expectant mother, but the entire family becomes worried. At such a critical period,

invoking a deity provides some comfort. Therefore, there is a kind of unique relationship between childbirth and Mayandal, and she is worshipped by all irrespective of caste.

The legends of Mayandal provide sufficient proof that she is the deity of childbirth. There are differences in the conceptualization of this deity. In the northern part of Tulunadu, Mayandal is the deity of childbirth; in the southern Tulunadu, it is Kinnidaru, who is the deity of childbirth (Babu Parava: 1991). The importance given to Mayandal and the stability seen in her worship is not found in the case of Kinnidaru. The reasons could be the differences in the legends surrounding their origin. In the southern Tulunadu, this deity (of childbirth) is sister of Koti and Chennaya (Kinnidaru); and in the northern Tulunadu, it is Mayandal, whom Koti and Chennaya meet in the spiritual world by chance. After their death, when Koti and Chennaya go to a northern river for a holy dip, on the way they meet Mayandal.

It is said that the folk deity Jumadi makes Māni Bāle disappear into the world of invisibility. (Māni Bāle, after she enters the world of illusion—*māya*—becomes Mayandal, *i.e.*, the one who has entered the realm of illusion.) Many of the folk deities of Tulunadu are human beings before they enter the realm of illusion. There are references in the Tulu *Pāḍdanas* where powerful persons enter the world of illusion (go to the supernatural world) and then make others follow them. The Siri of the Siri legend makes her son Kumara and her maid, Dāru enter the realm of illusion, and then she follows them at a later stage.

Pāḍdanas do not given any explanation regarding how persons enter the world of illusion and how they make others follow the same path. But the purpose of, or the reason for the action, can be understood in the context. Some of the reasons why persons enter the world of illusion; or why they are made to disappear into the world of illusion could be:

- as punishment
- to take revenge
- a deity may make a devotee enter the spiritual world to fulfil the desire of the devotee
- a person fed up with life may plead with a mystical person to make him / her enter the world of illusion
- unable to protest or struggle against some powerful person in the physical (real) world, the victim enters the world of illusion to take revenge

In all cases, the persons who enter the world of illusion are apotheosised and worshipped. The process of making persons disappear into the world of illusion is a symbolic process, not completely different from killing them.

How Bale Mani enters the world of illusion can be stated as follows:

Pangolla Bannara, a prominent landlord of a village wants to establish the folk deity, Jumadi in the veranda of his manor house and organize its festival. He sends a message to the people of the village to provide him a young coconut frond and one tender coconut from each household as tithe for the festival. One Alibali Nayaka of Gudde Barke refuses to toe the line. He is against the system of servitude. When Bannara comes to know the action of Alibali Nayaka, he remarks that Jumadi will get the tithe from Alibali Nayaka.

After the festival, Bannara sends Jumadi to punish Alibali Nayaka. Jumadi, disguised as Bannara, goes at mid-night to the house of Alibali Nayaka, and wakes up his niece, Bale Mani. The folk deity tells Bale Mani that he wants a little fire to light his torch of dry coconut leaves so that he could go home with the help of the torch. Bale Mani is a new mother who has delivered a son just three days ago. Since Bannara has come to her doorsteps, remaining inside the doorsill, she tries to give a burning cinder to him. The spirit-in-disguise tells her that if she gives the fire remaining inside the house, her action will bring a bad luck to her uncle. Therefore, he tells her to step out of the doorsill. She comes out, carrying with her a small sickle *(gejjathi)* and a palm umbrella. As soon as she steps out of the doorsill, the spirit makes her disappear into the realm of illusion. She pleads with the spirit to take her baby. The assistant of the Jumadi spirit puts his hands through the window and pulls her baby and makes him enter the spiritual realm.

On the next day, Alibali Nayaka searches for his niece. He hears her voice from somewhere and she says, 'O my uncle, for the sake of one young coconut frond and one tender coconut you have handed me over to the wild spirit, Jumadi, haven't you?'

On hearing her voice, Alibali Nayaka sends a head-load of coconut fronds and tender coconuts to the house of Bannara. But he refuses to accept the coconut fronds and tender coconuts. The behaviour of Bannara makes Bale Mani (now she is Mayandal) angry and she decides to punish Bannara. She promises her uncle, 'the way Bannara has made you suffer, in the similar way I will make him suffer.'

Duggame, niece of Bannara, is also a new mother. Mayandal goes near Duggame and goads her to follow her. Thus Mayandal makes Duggame enter the realm of illusion and she (Duggame) becomes a water-fowl.

Duggame becomes the tutelary spirit of the Bannara manor.

Thus Bale Mani is apotheosized and is invested with supernatural powers.

The birth and development of the folk spirits worshipped in the Budus and Guttus show the foregoing path to godhood. These deities show both protective and punitive traits. (Peter J. Claus: 1973)

In the past, landlords like Bannara used folk deities as a tool to realize their selfish ends. At the same time, the folk deities of the lesser mortals like Alibali Nayaka used their own folk deities to get even with the landlords who troubled them. Many *pāḍdanas* mention how landlords used their folk deities as a weapon to keep people under their control and thereby enhance their prestige. Once upon a time this was one of the purposes of spirit worship.

The progression of Mani Bale to Mayandal can be charted thus: Māni Bāle—>Māyinda Bāle—>Mayindāle—>Māyindāl—>Maindale.

The oral legend on Mayandal has become famous as Manibale Pāḍdana, Bālemāni Pāḍdana, or Pāngulla Bannara Paḍdana.

There is a possibility that Pāngolla of the Mayandal legend and the present day Pangala

may have a historical connection. The Pangala royal household is regarded the oldest royal household of Tulunadu (Vasant Shetty: 1993) Peter J. Claus comments on the antiquity of the Pangala royal household as follows: '...Thus it may be that the family by the name of Pangala held the title to the Bannara vassalage in the area near Udipi perhaps some one thousand years ago.' (1979 b: 100)

The folk deity, Kolata Jumadi comes to Enagudde Katapadi Garodi and requests Koti and Chennaya to allow him to establish himself in the *garodi*. He also tells them that apart from him, there are three female folk deities with him—Māyada Bale, Duggame, and Tannimaniga. Hence, Mayandal establishes herself inside the *garodi*, and Jumadi and Tannimaniga establish themselves outside the *garodi*. Duggame establishes herself in the veranda of the Bannara household.

There is a belief that the Mayandala Tōṭa (*tōṭa*, a garden, or a plantation) of Enagudde of Katapadi belongs to the family of Mayandal. (Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian: 1990: 211)

The Mayandal legend is an example to show how the landlords of the time of Mayandal used to ride roughshod over the innocent people of the village and punish them using the folk deities controlled by them. However people like Alibali Nayaka voiced opposition against this oppressive system.

When Bannara's men go to the house of Alibali Nayaka demanding tithe for the *kōla* festival, Alibali Nayaka is reported to have rebuked them in the following words:

'You are demanding that I should give a young coconut frond and a tender coconut; the fronds of my coconut trees are not the sprouts of screw pine; my tender coconuts are not the fruits of the poison tree; I do not know that a wild folk deity has been established in the veranda of the Budu of Bannara.'

On the surface the above sarcasm of Alibali Nayaka appears to be directed against the folk deity. On the contrary, it is a voice of protest against an unjustified social system presided over by people of the ilk of Pangolla Bannara.

Jogi Purusha

The retinue deities installed in the *garodis* differ from region to region. Not every resident folk deity in a *garodi* receives worship. Only a few deities receive annual worship, and Jogi Purusha is one of them.

But his worship is completely different from the worship of other divinities.

A few legends are available on Jogi Purusha. It seems, one Jogi Purusha came to see the ritual of offering sweet dish to Baiderlu. He ate the dish placed in front of the idols of Baiderlu, and fell dead as a result. He became a retinue deity of Baiderlu and hence he came to be worshipped along with Baiderlu. He is worshipped in most of the *garodis* located in north Tulunadu.

But the real reason for the worship of Purusha in the *garodis* could be the influence

of the Natha sect on *garodis*. The influence of the Natha sect can be observed in the worship traditions of Tulunadu.

The relationship between the Natha sect and the Billava community is described in some of the Jogi Purusha Pāḍdanas. In Jogi Purusher Pāḍdana, there is a reference to a Billava woman, Deyi Baidedi making an offering of a brass lamp-post to the Kadri temple. This is also mentioned in *Puruser Kunita*, a Purusha dance performance.

In another folk song, Purusher Sandi, twins, Uttanadi Purusha and Jagannadi Purusha, overwhelmed by the hospitality extended to them by the Valamjira Baidya couple, grant them a wish for a progeny and also bless them with wealth. They also present the couple *Kāśi Dēvara Bhuta* (presumably, a folk deity) to improve the status and position of the couple in the society.

In yet another Purusher Pāḍdana, one Jogi Purusha is said to have established a folk deity, Mundattaya in the house of Tankaru Baidedi of Kotekar taluk of Mangalore.

The other retinue deities

In the Baiderle Garodis, Bermer, Baiderlu, Kujumba Kanja, Mayandal, and Kinnidaru receive worship. There are other folk deities installed in the *garodis*; but, not all of them may receive worship. On the whole the following folk deities are worshipped in the *garodis*:

Jogi Purusha, Jumadi, Pili Chamundi, Kodamanthaya, Kukkinanthaya, Shivaraya, Vishnumurthy, Ullakulu, Bobbarya, Isthadevate, Mayisandaya, Okku Ballala, Muslim Children, Panjurli, Pilibhuta, Vaidyanatha, Kaju Kujumba, Nandigona, Chaundi, Hayguli, Rakthesvari, Deyi Baidedi, Sayana Baidya, Kemara Ballala, Ummalti, Jarandaya, Ammana Bannaya, Annappa Panjurli, Achari Bhuta, Brahmana Bhuta, Dharmarasu, Mantravadi, Kalkuda, Kallurti, Tukatteri, Malaraya, Kalabhairava, Chikka Parivara, Nandi, Kali, Ullaya, Rajan Deva, Guliga, Chinikar, Dvarapalaka, and so on.

Memorials of many persons associated with Koti and Chennaya when they were alive are installed in the *garodis*. These memorials are more on the north Tulunadu than on the south. As you move from the southern Tulunadu to the north, the number of retinue deities worshipped in the *garodis* increases. Some of the main folk deities, Kodamanthaya, Ullakulu, Shivaraya, and Kumaradevate have separate shrines in the *garodi* complexes. The annual festival of such deities takes place one day before the festival of Koti and Chennaya.

Moral law and magic

There were two types of observances in the life of the prehistoric communities: moral and magical, and sacred and profane. They followed certain traditional practices which they regarded as sacred. There was an implicit belief that certain supernatural forces were behind the traditional practices. Then, there were secular activities: art, carving, fishing, agriculture, and food gathering.

Edward B. Taylor (1958) suggests that the religion of the aboriginal people was animism.

He argues that the aboriginal people believed that some unknown force was responsible for any happening in the world. Therefore, though because of ignorance, they developed their own ways of thinking and behaving characterized by dreaming and delusions on the basis of some strong beliefs. Some attempts were made to establish a relationship between the body and the soul. The soul was thought to live even after the death of the person; it was believed that the soul would appear in the dream of the living. It would move around the living and influence their goals and aims in life. These beliefs led to the belief in the existence of spirits.

Malinowski (1948: 18) argues that the view of Taylor on aboriginal people is a very narrow. It is not possible to explain all the activities of man in terms of animism. Research has shown that the aboriginal people engage in fishing, gardening *etc*. because of their natural inclinations rather than out of their dreams and delusions.

Frazer J. G. (1910) highlights three elements in the religion of the aboriginal people:

1. Magic, 2.Totemism, and 3. Culture related to fertility and agriculture

In his *magnum opus*, *Golden Bough,* Frazer has discussed in detail the use of magic by the aboriginal people. According to him animism is the dominant belief among the aboriginal people. The pre-historical man used animism and magic to exercise control over the natural forces. Later, man accepted folk deities, spirits, souls of the ancestors, and God as superior to himself. For this, the fear of nature was also responsible.

Frazer believes that there are two branches of a totemic tradition: social and religious. The totemic tradition exemplifies a social group. Religiously the totemic tradition tries to establish a relationship between a community and its immediate environment.

There is a direct relationship between human wants on the one hand, and totemism, magic, ancient rituals and practices, on the other hand.

In the mythologies you get answers to the questions: how the world came into existence and how life became possible. For these purposes, pairs of opposites: heaven and earth, heaven and hell, life and death were postulated. Life emerges spontaneously. Adam and Eve appear. In the legend of Kenjava birds, two Kenjava birds were created: a male and a female. Because of the desire for progeny felt by the female Kenjava bird, God permits them to be husband and wife.

In the pre-historic times, to survive, it was necessary for man to struggle against natural forces. The earliest man used magic and magical incantations to control natural forces. Some of these magical practices became rituals. These rituals also became a part of literature as stories. Three types of stories emerged: mythological stories, legends, and amusement stories.

The earliest man wanted to control nature and at the same time he was afraid of the natural forces. Therefore, to tame the natural forces, he developed magic. Frazer distinguishes between religion and magic. Magic works on man's nature to control the physical world and his confidence in doing so.

Mythology, magic, and miracle

Lemon and medicinal preparations are widely used while practising magic, black magic, or while reciting magical incantations. Magic uses lemon, folk medicine, and magical incantations as mediums to materialize miracles. Magic is a kind of folk science. Magic functions as a link between what is possible and what is not.

In the Pejanara legend, when Pejanara, the Brahmin, goes to take bath in the sea, an object comes near him, floating. According to some versions of Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana, the object that the Brahmin gets is not a lemon; it is a rare fruit, or an extraordinary thing. Then it transforms into a baby when it placed in a vessel filled with rice. The process of transformation takes place in the night. Eggs, fruits, rice, and women symbolize fertility. Keeping the thing that the Brahmin gets in a vessel filled with rice reflects the motif of protection; the motif is rooted in the practice found in the village where the freshly laid eggs are kept in a vessel filled with rice.

What is meant by transformation of one thing to another? Is perception of transformation just a mental state, or a physical phenomenon?

All desires, dreams, and hallucinations originate from the mind. Therefore, when a person sees something different from what it really is, he is hallucinating; and it is called a miracle. Hallucination is very transitory. The Brahmin couple who saw the lemon in the place of an egg might be hallucinating. The couple who were emotionally disturbed because they did not have progeny must not have noticed the difference between an egg and a lemon.

Most of the unnatural things happen in the night. When there is daybreak, dreams, unnatural events, and hallucinations tend to disappear. Dramas, field dramas, fairs *etc*. take people to an imaginary world during the night. There is a need to maintain mental balance vis-à-vis the world of imagination. When a person sees something expected, or usual he takes it for granted; does not question its earlier status. Sometimes, he may not understand what he / she sees and hence terms it a miracle. When a person does not know the process of birth, the child becomes a miracle. When this belief is questioned the answer that you get is that the baby is a gift of God.

An egg of the Kenjava birds, as an illusory lemon, is kept in a rice vessel. This brings out the relationship between rice and fertility. In the religious observances, rituals, worship, marriage *etc*. rice gets prominence. Rice grains are sprinkled on the idols of deities, on the bride and the bridegroom. Sprinkling rice grains symbolizes fertility.

What could be the purpose of abandoning a maiden who has reached puberty? It must have been a tradition developed in a male-dominated society. In the male-dominated society men use women for their selfish ends, and hence many restrictions are imposed on them. Probably society did not trust a woman who reached puberty but remained unmarried. Some doubt might also have been entertained regarding the character of such a woman. These could be the reasons behind the practice of abandoning the girl who reached puberty before her marriage, once upon a time.

Jēvu Kēdage was left blindfolded in the forest because she reached puberty before she was given in marriage. If she was born from an egg of the Kenjava birds, how could she become a Brahmin maiden? Perhaps she could be the daughter of Pejanar himself; otherwise, what right did he have to leave her in the forest?

Conceptualization of mythology and transformation

After being born out of an egg of a bird, she becomes a Brahmin maiden; and after she reaches puberty, she becomes a member of the Billava community. These are the transformations she undergoes. Thus, because of a Brahmin couple, Jevu Kedage becomes a Brahmin maiden; and then because of the protection and care of Sayana Baidya, she becomes a member of the Billava community.

There are instances where a couple without progeny go for adoption. Could Jevu Kedage be an adopted daughter of the Brahmin couple? Or did Sayana Baidya take an abandoned maiden to his house and then assimilated her into the Billava community?

Magic and miracle

A miracle is based on faith. Miracle means a supernatural, or a mysterious event. This word is also used in the sense manifestation, strength, vision , pre-eminence and supernatural power.

According to some authorities, prophecy has become miracle. When a person's claim gets credence, proof, and support, it becomes a prophecy. (Veeranna: 1994: 17) The person making the prophecy becomes a prophet.

A miracle by its very nature is an extraordinary, mysterious, or supernatural event. It is rooted in devotion, fear, religious tradition, and belief. Once upon a time a person claiming to be a saint had to perform miracles. The persons who performed miracles could be saints, Mahatmas, or even ordinary persons. They were regarded as religious preachers or the persons well-versed in spirituality.

A miracle becomes important by its results. The results depend on certain purposes: enhancing the prestige of a person, to foster faith in the community, instil fear in the enemies of the community. To materialize a miracle, there is a need for a religious framework and devotion. To become a mythological figure, the person has to perform many miracles. If the miracles are disputed, he or she does not become a mythological figure. If his or her miraculous powers continue beyond the initial disputes and doubts, he or she becomes a mythological figure.

A miracle is a supernatural event which cannot be explained in terms of natural laws. It is a divine power expressed through the medium of man. The miracle is expressed through a human medium and the miracle may be in the form of some power, an object, a place of miraculous happenings, and so on. (*ibid*: 18)

Koti and Chennaya are described as persons who worked miracles, or persons with

extraordinary powers. However their miracles revolve around their strength and ability. They do not work miracles that go beyond the human parameters: whether it is drinking water poured on the points of their swords, making a thousand pieces of a stone berry / gooseberry, breaking the walls of the prison, or opening of the closed door of the Bermer shrine at Kemmalaje hill automatically when they offer payer. All these activities are human activities. However, these extraordinary activities are supposed to have been facilitated by their family deity, Bermer. Their personality is shaped and their development is charted by their devotion to their family deity. Therefore, they have remained legendary heroes.

Some of the versions of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdanas do mention certain miracles regarding the origin of Bermer and the birth of Koti and Chennaya: an egg of the Kenjava bird appears as a lemon; a baby girl takes birth from this object; after marriage with Kantanna Baidya, she (Deyi) becomes pregnant drinking water from a stream; Bermer takes birth in an unnatural manner; breaking the stone slabs, Bermer comes out of the well into which he has been pushed; and so on.

A community that has accepted a person as 'miracle man' based on its devotion and pride for the 'miraculous person' makes efforts to create the delusion of miracle in the mind of others. The community invents miracles and publishes them. The place of worship where the miracles are believed to take place, to attract more and more devotees, all efforts are made to publicize the miraculous powers of the place of worship purely from the commercial and the financial consideration. Nowadays you would find many devotees who are busy glorifying the miraculous powers of certain places of worship, and there may be many friends of yours who would vouchsafe for the miraculous powers of a place of worship that would bring good luck to you if you were to visit one. (Nandavara: 1992: 11 – 15)

The human mind is the sum total of the conscious and the unconscious tendencies. The conflict between the conscious and the unconscious tendencies is the cause of psychological disorders. The size of the unconscious part of the mind is nine times more than that of the conscious part. The unconscious mind is the storehouse of many unfulfilled needs (instincts, according to Sigmund Freud). When the conflicts between these opposing tendencies are resolved, the mind reaches a state of equilibrium.

When the mind is troubled by the internal conflicts and the body ailments, it becomes active. In the life of a person, sex motive is a powerful motive. The behaviour of the person is dictated by this motive. Freud has called sexual motivation, libido. Libido explains the origin of the Oedipus complex.

Freud has given a revolutionary explanation of human desires. According him, sex 'instinct' is natural to man. To satisfy sex instinct, he casts his glance on the persons who are very close to him. The society may accept this behaviour as a mark of civilized behaviour. If the social life and the civilized behaviours are to be strengthened, there is need to regulate this kind of behaviour.

The incest taboo is highlighted in the story of Kenjava birds. The love between a brother

and a sister is a form of Oedipus complex. But, as individuals grow, they internalize the rules and regulations imposed on them by their parents, and thus they develop conscience. Conscience will keep in check their Oedipus / Electra tendencies.

In the life of a person, his / her ego helps in protecting him / her, and also aids in his / her development. His / her external behaviour—searching for food, taking care of children and constructing houses—enables him / her to protect his / her biologically rooted tendencies that he / she has inherited as a part of his / her animal ancestry.

Carl Jung has compared the mental life of an aboriginal man with that of a modern man. The mental life of the aboriginal man is limited to his immediate experiences; whereas the life of the modern man is characterized by endless problems, lack of peace of mind, and unhappiness. The modern man feels that the mind is nothing but a storehouse of problems, worries, and experiences. This kind of thinking is alien to the unconscious and the primordial tendencies (*id*) of the person. The conscious part of the mind that develops later, itself creates problems. These problems give rise to civilization. When the primordial tendencies are opposed consciousness develops. The original tendencies then become a part of nature and rejecting the primordial tendencies results in culture

Dreams

As pointed out by Freud, all the ancient communities gave importance to dreams. They used dreams in their day-to-day activities. They believed that dreams predicted the future and hinted at the future happenings. Before undertaking important activities, for example while heading for a battle, the experts in the interpretation of dreams used to be consulted. During the time of the Greeks and the Romans, analysis of dreams was accorded the highest respect.

When Parmale Ballala experiences a dream, to understand the meaning of his 'day-time-dream,' he seeks the advice of an astrologer, Ballaya. The astrologer informs him that some of the rituals and ceremonies that were organized in the manor in the past have been discontinued and the dream is a reminder to him to start these activities. The Ballala had lost his wife and hence he did not show much interest in the activities of his manor house. However, his conscience could not permit him to neglect his duties as the ruler of the manor.

A person may experience various kinds of conflict of motives at the same time. The purpose of a dream is to reduce the stress resulting from the conflict of motives. The dream intervenes between the conflicting wants, and tries to work out some mechanism in which both the conflicting wants are partially satisfied.

Parmale Ballala harboured some unfulfilled wants as well as hidden motives. He experienced unpleasant dreams because of the conflict between these internal tendencies.

Apart from the conflict of motives that lead to dreams, another important feature of dreams is that they contain symbols. In the dreams you may experience things which you

have never experienced. The things you experience in dreams are imaginary, delusionary, and illusory. Since the dreams are related to the experiences of the waking state, they are the images of the waking state. The actual things of the waking state may not be there in a dream, but there are things representing the actual things. However, in the dream stage, mind believes that images of the actual things are the real things. Freud has elaborately discussed the role of symbols in interpreting dreams. Through a dream, a deity may demand an offering from the devotee, or tell him to construct a shrine. An emotional person may have more episodes of such dreams than a less emotional person.

Some of the Koti Chennaya Garodis have been set up because of the dreams experienced by certain devotees. As the diffusion of *garodis* continued, in some cases, Koti and Chennaya might have appeared in the dreams of certain persons who owned agricultural land and directed them to construct *garodis* for them. Or perhaps, they appeared in the dreams of certain influential persons and told them to set up *garodis* as offerings.

The mental make-up of the person is responsible for the above dreams. A person who has witnessed the festival of a folk deity organized by his rivals may entertain a thought of organizing such a festival. This thought may manifest as a dream.

Freud is of the view that when the needs remain unsatisfied or repressed, they give rise to dreams. Dreams are a kind of window to satisfy the repressed and the socially prohibited urges. The basis for the mythologies of the people of the ancient times was also some of the repressed needs.

Carl Jung suggests that there is a sort of hierarchy among the gods and folk deities. They can be arranged from the lowest to the highest. The highest divinity is God. In this context, Peter J. Claus and Frank Korom (1991: 106 - 108), quoting de Laszlo (1958: 77), provide the following outline of Jung's, *analytic psychology*:

'Jung is aware of the fact that the psyche cannot be grasped in its entirety. Therefore, he suggests that it can only be observed... Central to his argument is the concept of "spirit"... He suggests that we view spirit as a series of gradations from the lowest to a highest form. The highest level of spirit, according to Jung, is "god"...He sees spirit as alive and dynamic, the force that drives human action and is at the base of all psychological phenomena...Because the spirit is autonomous and self-motivating, it can produce psychological manifestations independent of any exterior force...The spirit manifests itself primarily in dreams as archetypes, according Jung. Archetypes are so central to our psychic make-up that if we divorce from them, we become neurotic... The human psyche is thus built upon a preconscious foundation...The dialectic between human narrative forms and psyche can be reduced, according to Jung, to a process of formation and transformation.'

'The "old man" archetype ... appears just as often in fairy-tales as in dreams...Jung creates a list of the old man's qualities: The old man embodies, "knowledge, reflection, insight, wisdom, cleverness, and institution; on the hand, moral qualities such as good will and helpfulness, which make his spiritual character plain."'

The Bermer of the Koti Chennaya legend is such an 'old man' archetype described by Jung, possessing all the qualities attributed to the 'old man'.

Erick Fromm was originally a follower of Sigmund Freud and later he founded his own version of psychoanalysis, in his *The Forgotten Language*: *An Introduction to the Understanding of Dreams, Fairy Tales and Myths* (1951).

Peter J. Claus and Frank Korom (*ibid*: 109 - 111) provide the following insight into the theory of Fromm:

'...*The Forgotten Language* is about human beings attempting to understand themselves in spite of their intrinsic weakness which surfaces when confronted with interpreting the external world. Based on the assumption that man is a "symbol using" creature not able to live in a world that is not understood, Fromm seeks to place "meaning" at the centre of the epistemological quest of *homo sapiens*. Fromm is an empiricist, yet he allows for a wider role of non-empirical exegeses because of the syntax of symbolic language – dreams, myths, fairy tales rituals, etc. – does not follow the logic of ordinary reality.' (p. 110)

They write further (p. 110),

'According to Fromm, "...symbolic language is a language in which inner experiences, feelings and thoughts are expressed as if they were sensory experiences, events in the outer world." (1951: 7) External and internal worlds coexist for Fromm but not without a measure of tolerated conflict. Symbols drawn from the external world are applied to the internal self and reflect the individual soul and mind in personal discourse. Fromm accepts Freud's opinion that myths and fairy tales are no different from dreams and constitute communication from ourself to ourself (*sic*).' (*ibid*)

Quoting Fromm, they write (p. 111),

'Fromm writes early in his study that, "the particular meaning of the symbol in any place can only be determined from the whole context in which symbols appear, and in terms of the predominant experiences of the person using the symbol."' (1951: 20)

Worship of twins

a. Koti Chennaya

Koti Chennaya became famous by their heroic deeds around five hundred years ago during the rule of provincial rulers. Koti Chennaya fought against injustice and revolted against oppression by the ruling elite of their times. (Their story is given in Chapter 2)

b. Mugerlu

Mugerlu deities are Enmur Deyya, Kelata Perne, and Sani or Tannimaniga. Enmur Deyya and Tannimaniga are siblings—brother and sister—and Kelata Perne is the husband of Tannimaniga. Since the parents of Enmur Deyya and Tannimaniga did not get any progeny, they offer a prayer to Bermer and because of the grace of Bermer, Enmur Deyya and Tannimaniga are born.

They become orphans in their early childhood and they are taken care of by the people of the village. When they grow up, to make the offering their parents had vowed to make, they go to the shrine of Bermer. On the way, they meet Koti and Chennaya. Koti and Chennaya invite them to their house. The foster mother of Koti Chennaya, Sonne Soyi Baidedi, looks after Enmur Deyya and Tannimaniga.

Enmur Deyya and Tannimaniga meet one Kelata Perne. Tannimaniga marries Kelata Perne. A fight takes place between Koti and Chennaya, and Enmur Deyya and Kelata Perne over hunting a wild boar. Enmur Deyya and Kelata Perne get angry. Out of anger, they go to fish in the deep waters of a river called Bermere Gundi. Sonne Soyi Baidedi, their foster mother, had warned them against fishing in the Bermere Gundi. Ignoring her advice, Enmur Deyya and his brother-in-law enter the deep waters and they are drowned. Hearing their tragedy, Tannimaniga jumps into the deep waters and she is also drowned. After their tragic death, they are apotheosized and become folk deities.

In the Mugerle legend, the twins (fraternal) are Enmur Deyya and Tannimaniga. Kelata Perne joins them later. Along with these divinities, another divinity, Bhadra Kadenju also receives worship in the Mugerlu shrines. He is supposed to be a *banta* of the Mugerlu divinities. As Kujumba Kanja receives worship along with Koti and Chennaya, similarly, Bhadra Kadenju is worshipped along with Enmur Deyya and Kelata Perne. As Mayandal is for Baiderlu, so is Tannimaniga for the Mugerlu deities.

The names of the Mugerle heroes differ from place to place: In some places they are Mudda and Kalala; and in the Kasargod area, they are Manyale and Pernale; and Kunjimanigo is their sister; she is given in marriage to Narampad Kalala; her second marriage takes place with Babbu of the Mundala community. (Venkataraja Puninchattaya: 1990)

c. Kanada Katada

When an agrestic serf, Subbi of the Bommi manor, goes to the hill to gather foliage, she finds a baby. She informs her master. Since she is already married, the master tells her to take care of the baby. With the help of her brothers, Pambalajja and Pombala, she takes care of the baby and the baby is given the name Bolle. At a later stage, Deyi, wife of Kantanna Baidya of Kangu Hittilu brings her up. She arranges for her marriage.

Deyi and Bolle generally have their period on the same day. One day, after their period, they take bath in a pond, Tottila Kere, and feed rice to the fish called Peruvel. Both become pregnant. Deyi gives birth to Kinnidaru, and Bolle, to twin boys, Kanada and Katada.

When the twins grow up, they go to see different places. First they meet Mudda and Kalala. They engage Mudda Kalala in a fight. When Kanada Katada try to bring Karangolu or Atikare variety of paddy seeds from the *ghat* region, Goddess Chamundi stops them on the way. They fight with the goddess and the goddess defeats them. She becomes pleased with their heroism and as a token of appreciation, presents them with swords (*yōdhagatti*).

Later, they meet Koti and Chennaya at Enmur and defeat them in a fight. However

the four heroes work out a compromise. They journey together and meet Mudda and Kalala. Thus, six heroes meet. They decide to go hunting. As they hunt, they do not find any animal. They become tired and go in search of water. They cannot find water anywhere. They try to dig the ground. Only Kanada and Katada are able to dig and create a waterhole. Then all drink water and disperse.

One day Kanada and Katada go to a river to fish. The elder brother, Kanada jumps into the river. He does not surface. Seeing this, Katada also jumps and he is drowned. Then the folk deity, Panjurli is seen emerging from the river. The twin brothers enter the spiritual realm and join the ranks of the retinue of the Panjurli deity.

d. Kantabare Budabare

Ullu Pergadti of the Ulluru Guttu sees an orphan Billava girl near a platform at Suratkal. Her name is Achi. Ullu Pergadti takes Achi to her manor house. Then she arranges for her marriage. After drinking water from the well of the Ulluru Guttu (manor house), Achi becomes pregnant. She gives birth to twins, Kantabare and Budabare. When they grow up, they undergo military training and become military commanders of the army of the Samanta ruler of Mulki. They engage the Chowta ruler of Moodabidre in a battle and defeat him. There is a reference to a fight between Koti and Chennaya and Kantabare and Budabare. When neither side could win, the Goddess of Bappanadu seems to have brokered peace between the two sides. As a part of the agreement, in the Mulki region where Kantabare and Budabare enjoyed some measure of supremacy, no *garodis* of Koti and Chennaya are to be established.

The shrine of Kantabare and Budabare is in Ulepadi of Mulki. The dress, a bow, and an arrow of Kantabare and Budabare are preserved in the Gudde Sana house. The enchanting well, from which their mother drank water and conceived, the *takade* tree, to which their mother had hung their cradle, and the original serpent grove of the family—are located in the Kollur and Gudde Sana areas of Ulepadi.

e. Periyākuḷu

Bailabidu, located near Bajpe of the Kalambe region, was under the control of Veera Pratapasimha of the Vijayanagara Empire. Veera and Vikrama are the twins, of the Jain community.

Veera and Vikrama go to some distant place for education. Their mother gets their idols carved and installed in a shrine so as to remember them when they are away. When they return, they come to know what their mother has done. They show their miraculous powers in the village. From the inscriptions, it is learnt that they set up the Adinathesvari temple at Adyapadi. After they finish their heroic activities in the natural world, near a tree in front of the manor house, they are believed to have entered the spiritual world and merged in their idols that their mother had carved.

Two eight-foot high idols representing the twins are installed in Bailabidu. There is no donation box in their shrine. There is a belief that if a person offers prayer here his wish is fulfilled. Rituals and ceremonies are performed during the festival days in the Jain tradition. The deities are called Periyākuḷu, which means, elders. There are many historical remains around the manor house.

f. Pūmani Kinnimani

A priest of Talakaveri (the place of origin of the river, Kaveri) finds three children, two boys and a girl. The boys are given the names Pūmani and Kinnimani, and the girl, Deyyar. They reach Tulunadu by the Shiradi Ghat. When they reach the Kumara Hill, they see the flagpole of the Subramanya temple. They shoot at the flagpole with their bow and arrow and break it into two. The broken half of the flagpole falls at Kukkundoor, at a distance of some 25 km. As a result, a fight breaks out between Subramanya, or Kumara (the presiding deity of the holy place of Subramnya), and Pūmani and Kinnimani. Shiva and Parvati broker peace. It is decided not to raise the flagpole again. Therefore, in Subramanya, there is no practice of hoisting the temple flag. For the action of breaking the flagpole, Pūmani and Kinnimani are made to provide a cauldron with sixteen handles to the temple to cook rice for the devotees. Deyyar decides to establish herself in the Subramanya temple.

The first arrow that they release (while damaging the flagpole) falls at Divatige; therefore, this place is regarded as the place of origin of Pūmani and Kinnimani.

These heroes show their heroism at different places: Mugeru Mantame, Aduru, Madada Gudde (Ishvaramangala), Sulyapadavu, Ambarapadavu, Padumale, and so on. They are worshipped as principal deities in the Kumbale region.

According to K.C. Patali (1989: 6), the Ullakulu folk deities are worshipped 'from the beginning of Parmale to the end of Puttige'.

The stories and *pāḍdanas* of the Ullakulu deities are available. These deities are supposed to have descended from the *ghats* and reached the coastal Tulunadu. They are believed to have entered the Parmale manor house disguised as Brahmin boys and released the Ballala of Parmale from the prison. The Ballala is said to have been put in prison by his enemies. Therefore, Parmale Ballala builds a shrine for the Ullakulu folk deities.

Ullakulu were the family deities of Ballakulu or Ballalas. Pūmani Kinnimani deities came to be called respectfully, Ullakulu.

Ullakulu means masters, those who possess (means / resources), or the persons who are very capable.

When the festival of Enmur Garodi is organized it is a tradition to carry the sacred objects of Baiderlu from the shrine of Ullakulu to the *garodi*. The head of the Ullakulu deities is Kajukujumba. In the *pāḍdanas* of the tutelary deities of Enmur, there are references to Ullakulu meeting Koti and Chennaya.

g. A pair of folk deities

Twins, Chatu and Chandu are from a large family of Tenkanadu where 40 cradles used to be hung. They start on a journey with their families. They reach the holy place, Shri Bhagavati of Manjinadka. When they reach the temple, they find the temple closed. With their miraculous powers, they get the temple opened and offer prayer. They rest for the night in the temple complex. In the morning Chatu is not to be found; he has already entered the spiritual world. He establishes himself in the Bhagavati temple and becomes a deity.

Chandu, with his family, reaches Sulya. The ruler—Ballala—of Sulya gives him shelter at Pannebidu. He is also given the facility to be trained in the gymnasium of the Ballala. He learns gymnastics and becomes famous.

When Chandu meets Chenniga Chennaraya of Sulya, he becomes very influenced by the personality of Chandu and requests him to remain as his assistant. Chandu tells him that if he gets the control of the entire Kudumapura, then only he would agree to be his assistant. When this condition is not accepted, he goes to Mitturu on a journey.

Near Manchada Kallu of Mettukallu hillock, when Ullakulu try to shoot him with an arrow, they become impressed by the courage shown by Chandu, and they take him along with them. When Chandu goes for bath in the Nayar Gundi of the Ubaradka Mittur village, he enters the world of spirits and joins the ranks of Ullakalu deities. Therefore, he comes to be called Nayar Bhuta.

If he were to be from a Nayar household, both the brothers should have got the name, Nayar Bhuta; but this name is applied only to the younger brother.

Chatu and Chandu are worshipped as a pair of folk deities in the Sulya region. Pūmani and Kinnimani or Ullakulu folk deities must have been the inspiration for the origin of these deities.

From the legend of Chatu and Chandu deities, it is clear that Ullakulu deities precede Chatu and Chandu deities.

At the festival of Nayar Bhuta at Manjinadka, the impersonator of the Nayar Bhuta, turning to the south, calls out 'Chato' and the impersonator of the Chatu deity, turning his face to the north, calls out 'Chandu'. The Bhuta performers of both the deities are Paravas, and the priest-impersonators are Tuluvas. However during the possession ritual, they speak in Malayalam. (Nandavara: 1988: 31)

h. Kalkuda Kallurti

'When Shambu Kalkuda, a famous sculptor from Kellatta Marnadu of Tulunadu goes to Beluru Belagola to sculpt statues, his wife, Iruvadi is expecting. She gives birth to twins—Bīru and Kālamma.' (Amritha Someshwara: 1984: 119)

When Shambu Kalkuda does not return for many years, his son, Biru goes in search of his father and meets him at Shravana Belagola. Biru points out a mistake in the statue of Bahubali sculpted by his father. The father feels insulted and commits suicide.

Biru becomes a sculptor and he surpasses his father in fame. He gets an invitation from the ruler of Karkala, Bairava Sooda to sculpt the colossus, Gomateshvara. He does an excellent job. However, the ruler cuts off his right hand and left leg so that he should not sculpt another statue. In spite of losing his limbs, he sculpts a statue of Bahubali at Venur at the invitation of the ruler of Venur, Timmannajila.

Kalamma comes to Venur in search of her brother. Angered by the treatment meted out to her brother by the ruler of Karkala, and to take revenge on the ruler, both decide to enter the spiritual world. Because of their heroic deeds, they come to be worshipped as folk deities.

i. Uttanadi Jagannadi Purusharu

Uttanadi Purusha and Jagannadi Purusha were the children of Bailanga Purusha and Bailangi Purushedi. When they grow up they become curious to know their profession. They find a copper plate in the stone chest *(kalla kalembi)* of their house. It is inscribed that their work is going to different houses and seeking alms. Therefore, they carry '*jyoti kolu*' (a kind of staff), and hang '*janti jolige*' (beggar's sling) on their shoulders, and go to Kashi to seek alms. While returning, it becomes dark and they reach the house of one, Kallembi Pergade. He is not at home; he has gone to fight in a battle. His niece, Daramma tells them to sleep in the shed of the house, and gives them rice and a vessel to cook rice, and another vessel to cook vegetables. She gives them a mat used to dry red chillies. In the meanwhile Pergade returns. Feeling that the guests have not been extended proper hospitality, he invites them to sleep inside the house. However they tell him that since it is already daybreak, they want to go.

While going, they create two poisonous creatures and leave them at the door of the shed. When they have moved just a few steps, Daramma dies because of the poison of the creatures created by them. They return, take out the Kala Bairava medicine that they have brought from Kashi, and apply the medicine on Daramma and revive her.

Then they go. On the way they meet one, Valanjir Baidya. His wife, Valanjir Baidyedi offers them milk. The couple does not have progeny. The Purusha brothers give a fistful of rice from their slings to the couple as a blessing for progeny. A son is born to the couple. When the boy grows up, the Purusha brothers return from Kashi. Valanjir Baidyedi requests the Purusha brothers, whom she treats them as her brothers, to pour holy water on her son. After the ritual, when they are about to go, she remarks, 'When shall I see you again.' Pleased with her sentiments, to enhance her position in the society, they give her 'Kashi Devara Bhuta'. The Purusha brothers later become folk deities—Uttanadi Purusha and Jagannadi Purusha.

j. Kariya Kasinga Beliya Desinga

They take birth in a lotus flower found in a well, and the well is located at the foot of

a white *Ixora* (Kepula) plant. They want to quench thirst. They look around and cannot find water anywhere. They pluck five berries from a tree of stone-berries, and throw three fruits into a low lying area. As a result, a palace of 62 *kolus* in length and 44 *kolus* in width with enclosures on all sides is created. To create a well inside the palace, they throw another berry. A well, paddy fields, a front *bakimar* field, and a *kambula* field—are created as a result. (K.J. Shetty Kadandale: 1973: 107)

When they hunt in a forest, they find Siri rocking the cradle hung from a banyan tree and singing lullaby for her son, Kumara. They accept her as their sister (in the meanwhile, her son Kumara enters the world of spirits). They bring her to their palace and arrange her marriage with Kotsara Alva of Kotrapadi. Siri has taken birth in a pod of areca flower.

k. Abbaga Daraga

Sonne is the daughter of Siri from her second marriage to Kotsara Alva. Abbaga and Daraga are the twin daughters of Sonne born by the grace of Nagabrahma. When they come of age, their parents go to finalize their marriage. When the parents are resting under a banyan tree at Abbanadka, a Brahmin asks them, 'What should be the priority, fulfilling a vow made to a deity or arranging the marriage?'

Sonne retorts,

'When we made the vow, were you sitting above our heads? Do you know when we made the vow?'

The Brahmin, being annoyed, tells her,

'All right then, go and invite guests for the marriage.'

The Brahmin (in fact Nagabermer) comes to the house of Sonne. He induces Abbaga and Daraga to play a game of *chenne*. In the game, Daraga, the younger sister wins, and taunts at her elder sister. The elder sister gets angry and hits her younger sister with the *chenne* board on her head. The younger sister dies. Frightened by the turn of events, she throws the body of her younger sister into the family well and commits suicide, jumping into the same well.

Since the parents of Abbaga and Daraga fail to fulfil the vow made to Nagabermer, Nagabermer causes their death.

Abbaga and Daraga are worshipped and their festivals are organized in the Siri spirit-complexes (Siri *alades*) where Bermer or Brahmalingeshvara is the presiding deity. Siri, Kumara, Sonne, Ginde, Abbaga, Daraga, and Siri's maid, Daru constitute the Siri family.

l. Anke Ummaya

In the area around Adinje of Beltangadi, a family of the Madivala community worships two female deities—twins—Anke and Ummaya. During the rule of Venur by the Ajila chieftains, when the queen of the Ajila ruler goes to a temple to make an offering, she loses her most precious necklace. When all the attempts to find the necklace become futile, using

their supernatural powers, Anke and Ummaya are able to find the ornament. As they are able to locate the chain when nobody else could, they become famous.

The members of the Nalke community (a community of Bhuta performers) sing Anke Ummaya Pāḍdana.

The family mentioned above organizes the annual festival of Anke Ummaya, along with the festival of other folk deities—Naga, Kodamanttaya, and Raktesvari.

In a similar way, other twin deities, Amberlu and Komberlu, and Akkerlu and Abberlu are worshipped at Koyyaru of Beltangadi.

m. Mayolu

In the surrounding area of Suratkal, a kind of mock *kōla* festival takes place in honour of these twin female deities. They are supposed to be the servants of Koḍdabbu folk deity, and it seems Koḍdabbu has appointed them to sweep the courtyard of his shrine. These female deities are believed to have visited different places and shown their supernatural powers. They catch fish in the rivers; sell them in the market.

In the mock *kōla*, a lot of vulgar conversation takes place between the Bhuta performers, and between the Bhuta performers and the audience.

These deities are worshipped by the members of the Mundala caste. The music at the festival is provided by the members of the same caste and priest-impersonators are also from the same caste.

n. Hunter folk deities

As a part of the Jalata performance, two Bhuta performers impersonating a pair of hunter deities dance in a state of trance. In the course of the possession ritual, they call out loudly, *kāchō*. The call is meant for two more performers, *viz*., Karibila folk deities. The imperonators of Karibila deities apply dark paint on their bodies. The moment the call is given they come rushing, and by their hoarse laughter (*aṭṭahāsa*), produce a din. These dark-pigmented Bhuta performers are said to represent hunter dogs, (Chinnappa Gowda: 1985: 1 – 14; 1990: 233 – 238)

The idea of twins

The buffalo race held on twin *kambula* fields (*jōḍukare*) is often called Surya Chandra, Jaya Vijaya, Lava Kusha, Koti Chennaya, Kantabare Budabare, or Virendra Surendra. When twins are born, they are given names that are similar to the above names.

In a way, the male and the female involved in procreation are not two separate individuals; they are also twins. The idea of *naranāri* (half male, half female, an androgynous being), and the conceptualization of Shiva as *ardhanārīshvara* originate from the idea of the male and the female as being twins. Creating the woman from the ribs of the man was an ancient idea. Twin piglets born as brother and sister, become husband and

wife with the blessings of God. They produce two piglets and the piglets become Panjurli folk deities (B.A. Vivek Rai b: 1985: 40). The similar episode is repeated in the story of Kenjava birds.

Twins and pairs in Hindu mythology

a. Ashvini Kumaras

The story of twins, their birth and development, is not a new story; it precedes the Vedic period as well as the period of mythologies.

There were twin deities called Ashvini deities. Reference to them occurs in the Ṛg Veda. They are supposed to have been born of Sun God and Sanjnadevi, in an unusual circumstances. Both live in disguise as horses and their offspring are said to be Ashvini deities. These twin deities are believed to be heroes who always think of the wellbeing of their devotees, who take devotees under their wing, and who are both ancient and modern in outlook.

It is said that Ashvini deities were very handsome and they remained forever youths. They become impressed by the fidelity of Sukanya, wife of an aged ascetic, Chyavana. They make him young again. They are regarded as deities who belong to some lower caste and hence they do not receive Vedic form of worship. They are believed to provide eyesight for those who are unable to see. (Benagal Ramarao: 1941: 32)

Ashvini deities are believed to fulfil the wishes of their devotees—taking care of their health and helping them to earn wealth. Those who do not have progeny offer prayer to these twin deities with the hope of getting progeny. (Manjunatha Bhat: 1974: 22)

b. Jaya Vijaya

The birth of the legendary twins Jaya and Vijaya does not take place in the normal biological process. There is some mystery about their birth. They are mythological twins.

Jaya Vijaya are followers of Vishnu; they are very religious persons who have conquered the pleasure of the flesh. They used to receive daily worship.

Once, some dispute arises between the brothers and they curse each other. Hence the elder brother becomes an elephant in rut, and the younger brother, a crocodile. When the elder brother in the elephant form goes to drink water in the river, Gandakee, his younger brother as crocodile, catches hold of him, it seems. Vishnu liberates them from the animal forms and appoints them doorkeepers of heaven. They try to prevent some ascetics, like Sanaka, from entering the heaven. Because of the curse of the ascetics, they take birth as demons. In the first cycle of rebirth, they are born Hiranyaksha-Hiranyakashipu; in the second cycle, Ravana-Kumbakarna; and in the third cycle, Shishupala-Dantavaktra. (Benegal: 1941: 222–33)

There used to be idols of two doorkeepers in palaces and forts: one, on the right side of the main door, and the other, on the left side. Now such idols are found in the shrines of

folk deities and *garodis*. Sometimes their figures are installed on either side of the walls of the religious structures.

There are many examples of twins and pairs in Bhagavata, mythologies, and epics: Krishna-Balarama, Madhu-Kaitabha, Chanda-Munda, Shumbha-Nishumbha, Rama-Laxmana, Bharata-Shatrughna, Bhima-Arjuna, and Nakula- Sahadeva. They were not twins but pairs; whereas, Lava-Kusha, and Ashvini Kumaras were twins.

There are many *pāḍdanas* on twin heroes. They are described as cultural heroes endowed with supernatural powers, and are regarded as men of mettle.

Only the Billavas can officiate as priest-impersonators of Koti Chennaya. In some *garodis*, these priest-impersonators are twins; their names are also Koti Chennaya; and they marry twins.

In the ritual theatre of Tulunadu, there are references to many pairs of individuals who became folk deities. When they were alive, they showed their heroism. They worked miracles; they were exceptional and superhuman individuals. Their unnatural birth is believed to be the cause of their extraordinary powers and abilities. They meet tragic death and become divinities. As divinities they are believed to uphold truth, and work miracles.

According to Javare Gowda (1976: 304), in some societies, there is a belief that if a woman has sexual relationship with two men, twins are born. Not only that, in some societies, there is also a belief that such a woman (who gives birth to twins) must have had sexual relationship with some invisible forces, *i.e.*, divine beings.

The twins can be two brothers, two sisters, or one brother and the other, sister. However, in the Tulu folklore, the persons unrelated may be treated as (fictive) twins because of some unusual circumstances: Koḍdabbu-Tannimaniga, Jumadi-Banta, Todakukkinar-Ullalti, and Kukkindaya-Kodamanttaya.

Twins are inseparable; one cannot live without the other. If one is present, then only the other is able to show his / her strength. Their strength lies in remaining together. The elder among the twins is generally milder in disposition, and the younger, ferocious and aggressive. Though twins are born together, one becomes the elder sibling and the other, a younger sibling. The elder is dominant and the younger plays a subordinate role.

Conjoined bananas are not offered to divinities; women are not supposed to eat them because of the fear of giving birth to twins.

Peter J. Claus (1978 a: 35) has elaborately discussed the phenomenon of twin heroes and heroines in Tulu folklore. He writes:

'The equivalence of brothers as expressed through twin-ship is a mystical bond. Their fate is one, their tie continues after death.'

In one of the versions of the Koti Chennaya legend included in A. C. Burnell's collection (1895: 270), there is a mention of the inseparableness of Koti and Chennaya even after death:

'When he (Koti) died and entered heaven. Brahma ordered him not to touch the wall of the temple and not to ascend into the yard.'

"As you are the god who knows the particulars of all *Sāstrams*, why did you make me die?" asked Koti.

"There is only one death and one burial ground both for you and your brother; therefore, bring your younger brother, too," said Brahma.'

'When Koti came to Chennaya, as a spirit, his leg was being washed. Koti called out,

"O, my younger brother!" and then the younger brother Chennaya struck himself on the head, and died, went to his brother. Then they went together to Brahma.'

Names of pairs of things, persons, or animals are found in day to day life. The following are some of the examples:

- A pair of lamps may be called: Surya Jyoti – Chandra Jyoti
- A pair of bedsteads may be called: Gange - Tunge
- A pair of royal whisks may bear the names: Miriminchi – Siriminchi
- A pair of swings may be called: Chenne – Sonne
- The names of two maids may be: Minchamma – Kenchamma
- Two ponds may be given the names: Muttu – Ratna
- A pair of dogs may be: Kaju – Baju
- A pair of horses may be named: Gandhamari – Chandamari
- A pair of elephants may be: Maddane – Muddane
- Two flower gardens may be named: Nagavana – Bhogavana
- A pair of cows may be called: Sundamma – Nandamma

(Mandara Keshava Bhat: 1987: 252)

In a way, a king and his servant, a teacher and his student, father and son, a *banta* and a *baraga* (a servant and his landlord) are conceptualized in the manner of twins (fictive twins). In the sphere of spirit worship of the Tuluvas, a principal deity has his servant: Jumadi-Banta, Panjurli-Banta, Pili Chandi-Banta, and so on.

Notes:

1. There is a tradition of worshipping a deity along with another deity. According to Amritha Someshwar (1987), 'It has been a practice on the part of the folklorists to combine two deities into one for a specific worship.' In a different context, he (1981: 1) says that Nagabrahma is viewed as the primordial creator of the universe, and he is known by different names: Bermer, Nagabermer, Brahmalingeshvara, Bhutabrahma, and Yakshabrahma. Gururaja Bhat (1977) argues that only an anthill is the most important element in the temples of Dakshina Kannada where Brahmalingeshvar is worshipped. In such temples, Brahma, Ishvara, and Naga are inseparable.
2. Nagana Seṭṭi or Nagana Sṛaṣṭi: A Naga king, Padmachūḍa, with the permission of God Shankara, appears in the human form and transforms some of his relatives into human beings. The day

when this happened was called Nagana Seṭṭi. (Sheenappa Heggade: 1991: 127). He has also mentioned that those who worship Ishvara, Nagaraja, and Brahmalingeshvara would not be exposed to any fear in their lives

3. A stone planted in front of the main door of the house is Baramana Kallu. According to common people, Baramadeva was a liar (*suḷḷegāra*). Girls pour oil and apply vermillion on the stone on the new moon day and on the full moon day. (Shantappa Devaraya: 1993) Generally such stones are spherical, and sometimes are found in the paddy fields. During festivals, women make offerings to these stones. One such stone is found in a paddy field at Heggode. (Krishna Gowda: 1993) The contention that Baramappa is the Vedic Brahma is not correct; he is a non-Vedic divinity. (Betageri Krishna Sharma, mentioned by Hiremath, S. S.: 1992: 15)
4. Peter J. Claus provides further description of Bermer. He writes, 'The Bermeru who is lord of the forest has as his subjects, animals and spirits. His realm is regarded as both the realm of the deceased ancestors and the source of future progeny. His is the realm of maya; the land of the living is jōga.' (1978 b: 9). Quoting Manner (1886: 46) he further writes, 'In front of the (Bermeru) shrine, they (Koti and Chennaya) claim, "While alive we are warriors of king's retinue (*ōlagada Banṭeru*), when we die we shall be warriors of Bermer's retinue (*i.e.*, Bermeru's retinue).'" (*ibid*: 8)
5. The name Kujumba is found in Sulya and Puttur. There is an expression, 'Kujumba Kanjana Kānūnu' (the law of Kujumba Kanja); on the whole he is not an independent person, rather he is the one who follows others.

CHAPTER - 7

POSSESSION RITUAL

Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana is one of the longest and the most popular *pāḍḍanas*. However, there is a need to examine the contexts when the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana is sung. There are different versions of Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana. Therefore, it is clear that it is sung in different contexts. What are these contexts? Is the *pāḍḍana* sung in its entirety? If not, what are the reasons for not singing the entire *pāḍḍana*? Which parts of the *pāḍḍana* are sung, and why?

The mediums through which folk epics are communicated, the meaning of the folk epics, and their message are of paramount importance. As stated by Jan Vansina (1984: 94), all communications reflect a given society and all messages are social products. Therefore, there is a social face to the messages contained in the oral traditions. These messages become important for the communities for which they are intended. If they do not, the question arises about the need for such a communication. It is necessary to explore the background of how a message of a traditional cultural element becomes affected by the present social situations. According to sociologists, all oral traditions are the product of the present times.

According to Jan Vansina,

'The oral traditions are created for the society in the present times, and when you evaluate the influence of the present times on these oral traditions, nothing of the message of the past remains.' (1984: 94)

While collecting different parts of folklore, there is a need to study the auditory and the visual aspects of the folklore. When different variants of folklore are documented, equal importance must be given to documenting the folklore in the actual performance situation. It is necessary to proceed from the text-centred approach to the performance-centred approach.

Details of the field study

Among the *garodis* selected for the present study, the annual (*kōla* or *nēma*) festivals of the following *garodis* were studied:

1. Kankanadi Garodi (25th January, 1989, 1990, 1991)
2. Kodipadi Garodi, Suratkal, Mangalore (25th February, 1989)
3. Kukki Katte Tavu, Madhya Suratkal, Mangalore (27th February, 1989)
4. Edapadavu Garodi, Shibrikere, Mangalore (12th February, 1990)
5. Pandya Garodi, Padubidri, Udupi (25th February, 1990)
6. Pangala Gudde Garodi, Udupi (3rd March, 1990)
7. Tingale Garodi, Karkala (7th, 8th, 9th March, 1990)
8. Ramajal, Parpunja Garodi, Puttur (15th March, 1990)
9. Kidiyoor Garodi, Udupi (17th March, 1990)
10. Manibettu Garodi, Shirva, Udupi (1st April, 1990)
11. Kudi Garodi, Udupi (3rd April, 1990 & 24th March, 1991)
12. Bolje Garodi, Udupi (6th April, 1990)
13. Enmur Garodi, Sulya (7th to 10th April, 1990 & 15th to 17th March, 1992)
14. Naravi Garodi, Beltangadi (1st May, 1990)
15. Enegudde Garodi, Udupi (8th May, 1990)
16. Poyye Podikall Garodi, Udupi (3rd June, 1991)
17. Mijar Edapadavu Garodi, Karkala (1st February, 1991)
18. Shirtadi Garodi, Karkala (28th February, 1991)
19. Bajagoli Garodi, Karkala (4th March, 1991)
20. Karinje Garodi, Moodabidre, Karkala (15th & 16th April, 1991)
21. Hirgana Padi Garodi, Karkala (18th August, 1991)
22. Panja Garodi, Sulya (17th February, 1992)

When is the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana sung?

During the *agel* ceremony

In some *garodis*, on the first day of the *kōla* ceremony, at night, there is an offering of cooked food to Baiderlu. The practice of offering cooked food to the manes (ancestors) is the influence of the Aryan culture on the Dravidian culture.

On the day of the *agel* offering, cooked rice (cooked from the yield of the *Kārti* crop or first crop only), vegetable dishes, a sweet dish, milk, ghee, and fruits are offered to Baiderlu. The ritual takes place inside the *garodi,* but outside the Bermere Gunda—the sanctum sanctorum of the *garodi*. Only vegetarian food is offered. The *agel* offering consists of an elaborate ritual supervised by the Billava priest-impersonators of Baiderlu. The ritual generally gets over around ten or eleven o'clock in the night. After the *agel* ceremony, the Parava impersonators of Baiderlu, who would be impersonating Baiderlu at the *kōla* ceremony on the following day, sing the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, inside the *garodi*, in

front of the Bermere Gunda. Once upon a time there used to be a high-raised seat made from the stem of a tree and the *pāḍḍana* singer would sit on the seat and sing the *pāḍḍana*, to the beating of a small drum, *tembere*. Nowadays they keep a clay lamp and a banana leaf on the high-raised wooden stand, and on the banana leaf, serve a sweet dish of beaten rice mixed with jaggery and coconut. They sit on the floor, near the wooden seat, and sing. The singing of the *pāḍḍana* continues till the following morning. Generally the lead singer is a male and another singer, either a female or a male, repeats the lines sung by the lead singer. The *garodi* priests, the priest-impersonators of Koti and Chennaya, volunteers at the *kōla* festival, devotees, the members of the *garodi* house, residents of the neighbourhood, and others wait to listen to the singing of the *pāḍḍana*.

The singing starts with the Bermer *Sandi*, *i.e.*, describing the birth of Bermer; and then the singer proceeds to narrate the birth of Kenjava birds, birth of Deyi Baidedi, birth of Koti and Chennaya, and so on. The duration of the singing depends on the time available.

Nowadays singing of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana during the *agel* ceremony ritual has remained just a ritual. The reason could be the absence of an interested audience; sometimes only the singers and the members of their families are present; and others who are supposed to be present rest elsewhere, or go to sleep. Sometimes loudspeakers are used so that the people in the neighbourhood could hear the singing.

According to the authorities, the singers of folk epics in India are generally men, or sometimes it is a husband and wife team. However, in a public performance, there is no tradition of only women singing an oral epic. Normally the singers of the oral legends are from the lower castes.

In a way, the entire performance of singing a folk epic is a public performance. 'Epics are a public performance genre in India.' (Blackburn *et al. Oral Epics in India*: 1989: 9)

In the normal days entry to a *garodi* is restricted; even the members of the Parava community are not allowed to enter the *garodi*. However, at the time of the *kōla* festival, generally all are allowed to enter the *garodi* (in some *garodis*, women of reproductive age are not allowed to enter).

On the day of the *agel* ritual, Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana is sung during the whole night, and yet, it is not possible to sing the entire *pāḍḍana*.

Once upon a time, there must have been a committed audience to listen to the singing of the *pāḍḍana*, and the members of the audience listened to the narration with full concentration and devotion. They remained throughout the night and the rendering of the *pāḍḍana* continued through the night. It could be that in those days returning home after the *agel* ritual was difficult, and the devotees attending the *agel* ceremony remained in the *garodi*, and therefore singing of the *pāḍḍana* continued throughout the night.

Even now in some places women in particular wait to listen to the *pāḍḍana* with full devotion.

In the *agel* ritual, food is served in large quantities to Kujumba Kānja, Koti, Chennaya,

Deyi Baidedi, and Tannimaniga on whole banana leaves. The food served to Chennaya is given to the Paravas as *prasada*. (Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian: 1990:117-126)

On the day of the *agel* ceremony, at the daybreak, the wooden seat is put down and the singing stops. There seems to be a relationship between the wooden seat and singing of the *pāḍdana*.

The practice of singing the *pāḍdana* on the first day of the *kōla* festival is prevalent only in those *garodis* where the *agel* ritual takes place. Such a tradition is not found in the *garodis* located on the southern part of Tulunadu where the *agel* ritual is not in vogue.

On the day of the *kōla* festival

After sunset, the three Parava impersonators of Baiderlu are presented *eṇṇe bûlya* (the ritual of presenting areca nuts, betel leaves and oil). They take bath and return to the *garodi*. For painting their faces and adorning themselves, they sit in front of the Bermere Gunda or outside the *garodi*. During this time, some parts of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana are sung. After completing the facial painting and adornment, they stand in front of the Bermer Gunda and sing Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana: narrating the origin of Bermer and the birth of Koti Chennaya. At this time, they slip royal whiskers on their fingers and carry *suriyas*; but, do not put on moustaches.[1] The singing may continue for five to ten minutes. There is complete silence in the *garodi* except for the beating of the *tembere*. Singing starts in a slow pace and then becomes faster. In the middle of the singing the impersonators go into a trance, and the loud music starts, and there is bursting of fireworks. After they are fully possessed, they stop singing. After offering obeisance to Bermer and Baiderlu, the impersonators emerge from the *garodi* and enter the courtyard. There is a circumambulation ceremony where the three Parava impersonators, along with the prominent members connected with the *garodi* administration, and the musicians go around the *garodi,* three times. After the ceremony, the Bhuta performers hand over the swords to the priest impersonators. Then they enter the *garodi* only at the end of the *kōla* festival.

After the first stage of the *kōla* festival, the Bhuta performers dance to the accompaniment of music and exhibit different forms of folk dance. The sequence of dancing and singing (of the *pāḍdana*) continues. At midnight, there is the possession ritual by the Billava priest impersonators. After the possession ritual by the priests, the Bhuta performers dance again, and the dance is interspersed with singing of the *pāḍdana*.

The different parts of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana are sung at different stages of the *kōla* festival: In the first stage, the singing of the *pāḍdana* takes place inside the *garodi*, in front of the Bermer Gunda; and in the subsequent stages, in the courtyard of the *garodi*. Outside the *garodi*, in the pandal, they sing the *pāḍdana* episodes on Kenjava birds, Deyi Baidedi, birth of Koti and Chennaya, death of Budyanta, and so on. They do not carry swords; instead they carry long handkerchiefs slipped on their fingers when they dance.

Although the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana is sung at different stages of the performance

ritual, the entire *pāḍdana* is not sung. Further the events narrated in the *pāḍdana* as they sing and their enactment through performance, do not often correlate. On the following day *i.e.*, on the day of the *kōla* festival, the *pāḍdana* is not continued from the stage where it was stopped on the previous day—the day of *agel*. On the day of the *kōla* ceremony, the *pāḍdana* is sung from the beginning. There does not seem to be any connection between the *agel* ritual and the *kōla* ceremony. This can be the reason for the absence of the *agel* ritual in some of the *garodis* though the *kōla* ceremony takes place in most of the *garodis*. When the *pāḍdana* is sung in the ritual context, only important parts of the *pāḍdana* are sung: cultivation of the *kambula* field by Koti Chennaya, death of Budyanta in their hands, taking back the 'ball' which Budyanta had snatched from their hands, their journey from Parmale to Panja and Panja to Enmur, and the Enmur battle.

While tapping toddy

A toddy tapper may prefer to sing certain parts of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana that are interesting to him as well as those he feels happy to sing: the background of the birth of Koti and Chennaya, birth of Deyi Baidedi, cultivation of the *kambula* field, death of Budyanta, and Koti and Chennaya engaging in a fun-play (playing with words) with the boys tending cattle. He may sing those parts that are related to toddy tapping: Sayana Baidya's preparation before he goes to Sankamale hill to tap toddy, Sayana Baidya finding the blindfolded Jevu Kedige in the forest and taking her to his house and taking care of her, and Payya Baidya going for toddy tapping. He may sing the episode of Koti Chennaya undergoing training in gymnastics, and their heroism.

There are different situations when the toddy tapper may be motivated to sing the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana: when he sets out of his house, on the way to the hill, as he shifts from one palm tree to another in the course of toddy tapping, or when he has finished his work. Once he has climbed the palm tree to harvest toddy, he is not supposed to speak, leave alone singing. (Ganganna Ekkar: 1992)

Perhaps the most important reason why a toddy tapper sings the *pāḍdana* is to fight fear when he goes in the night to prune palm spathes. Singing the heroism of Koti Chennaya instils a sense of confidence in him. Further he also carries a sickle, a piece of rope, and a pole. These are his weapons in an emergency. Hence a toddy tapper feels safe and fearless. (Fakira Poojary)

Koti Chennaya fought with their swords, and the toddy tappers are also heroes in a sense that they fight with nature, with their sharp sickles.

When a toddy tapper sings the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, someone else in the neighbourhood may muster courage to venture out and go for toddy tapping. As the toddy tapper sings the *pāḍdana* in the morning and evening, not only he becomes a trusted person in the neighbourhood, but, he also makes people to remain alert, and thus protects them.

As a field song

Women may sing Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana as a field song while uprooting the paddy seedlings, and while doing transplantation.

Paddy seedlings for the second crop (*Suggi*) are grown in an arid field *(boṭṭu)* and the seedlings are called *poḍinēji* (lit. dry seedlings). Hence, at the time of uprooting the seedlings, the paddy field is dry. Women could sit down and uproot the seedlings; and sometimes uprooting is done in the night. Thus, while working in the fields, for entertainment, women sing *pāḍdanas*, tell stories, and share puzzles. They prefer to sing *pāḍdanas* with stories. There is a lead singer and another woman repeats the lines. Authorities suggest that during the uprooting stage, women sing *pāḍdanas*, and at the time of transplantation, they sing *kabitas*. However, in the northern Tulunadu, *pāḍdanas*, like the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, are sung on both the occasions.

One of the episodes of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana that women enjoy singing is the Kinnidaru episode when Koti and Chennaya come to the house of their elder sister for the first time. In this episode, there is a graphic picture of a village house: the layout of a typical village house; arrangement for boiling water for bath; the seating arrangement for guests; a well and the arrangement to draw water from the well; a framework of sticks for supporting gherkin vines; cocks meant for cockfight; and so on. There is a description of how guests are treated; and there is also an account of the hospitality extended by Kinnidaru and her husband to Koti and Chennaya.

There are two instances of hunting in Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana: In the first instance Parmale Ballala organizes the hunting expedition; and in the second instance, Koti and Chennaya go hunting along with the people of the Enmur village. Once upon a time hunting was both a necessity as well as a religious activity. Hunting was necessary to protect the crop against wild animals. Hunting wild boars was a favourite activity. The meat of the hunted animals used to be shared in the entire village. In the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana hunting causes trouble in both the instances. Parmale Ballala gets hurt by the pricking of a poisonous thorn in the first hunting expedition, and Koti and Chennaya die in a battle as a consequence of the second hunting episode.

At the time of applying *mādrengi*

Mādrengi (*Lawsonia spinosa*) is a medicinal plant. On the day before wedding, as a part of the marriage rituals, leaves of the *mādrengi* plant are ground and applied on the feet and palms of the bride and bridegroom. The ceremony takes place in the night; the *mādrengi* ceremony for the girl is held at her house and for the boy, at his house. During the course of the ceremony, women sing Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. This tradition is found mostly in the Billava households.

The parts of the *pāḍdana* that narrate the childhood and the adolescence of the warrior-heroes are given preference at the time of the *mādrengi* ceremony: the childhood of Koti

and Chennaya in the Parmale manor, Sayana Baidya taking them to his house, Parmale Ballala supplying various provisions for the upkeep of the twins, twins playing with the children of Budyanta, the fight between the twins and the children of Budyanta, Budyanta snatching the 'ball of *palle*' seeds from Koti Chennaya, twins undergoing gymnastic training, their first shave, and so on.

In Purusha Vesha

Purusha Veesha is a group folk dance found in the Beltangadi and the Sulya regions. The dance performance takes place in the *Suggi* month (March / April). The dance group consists of various characters: Kodamanttaya, Bhatta, Dasayya, two ascetics, Jogi, a person carrying an idol of God Manjunatha of Kadri, Koti, Chennaya, Narsanna, a Christian selling betel leaves, a seller of toddy, a seller of fish of the Byari community, a bride and a bridegroom.

The group visits in the night the houses of the rich persons of the village, and for about ten to twenty minutes, the members of the troupe sing and dance. The characters playing the roles of Koti and Chennaya sing some parts of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. They receive offerings from the household, and they in turn praise and bless the household and its members.

A lead singer sings the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana; someone in the group repeats the lines.

When the group goes to a manor house, the group might address the members of the manor house in the following way:

'Today, we, the warrior heroes have come to your palace. We have with us a devotee of Lord Manjunatha of Kadri, and another, a devotee of Kodamanthaya folk deity. Sixty Jogi Purushas and two ascetics are accompanying us. Kemara Ballala of this manor house is eager to see us. He wishes to felicitate us by conferring on us various titles and then he wants to present us gifts. After receiving the gifts, O elder brother, we need to express our gratitude to the family and bless them:

"O elder brother, let the buffaloes in the shed, the crop in the field, the family living in this house, the babies in the cradle, and the cattle in the cowshed—be blessed. Let the family prosper."' (Monte Gowda: 1989)

The Purusha Vesha dance is a form of entertainment and at the same time the group showers best wishes on the family that it visits.

The manor house that the group visits is symbolically called the manor house of Kemara Ballala. When Koti and Chennaya were alive, they did visit Kemara Ballala. However, because of a letter he received from Parmale Ballala and on the instigation by Chandugidi, he imprisoned Koti and Chennaya. They escaped from the prison. In the end, Parmale Ballala and Kemara Ballala repented their actions and appreciated the heroism of Koti and Chennaya. The Purusha Vesha dance performance conveys this motif.

During the free time

After a day's work, during the free time, or at night before going to sleep, people may sing Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. During this time, there is no time constraint on the singer and he can sing without stress. He may prefer to sing the episode of Kenjava birds: the yearnings of the female Kenjava bird, birds offering their eggs to God, and so on. Many a time, the singer becomes so involved in singing, he is not aware whether there are people listening to the *pāḍdana* or not. Generally there are people around the singer who are interested in listening to the *pāḍdana*. The singer is normally a senior member of the household, and hence the other members of the family become his audience.

On other occasions

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana may be sung on the day of wedding, when the bridal procession is on its way to the venue of the wedding, or at the time of funeral rites. Once upon a time the marriage procession of the bride used to come from a distant place and during the long journey Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana used to be sung. Sometimes, the *pāḍdana* is sung when unhusking of areca nuts is done in the night.

Professional singers of folk epics

A folk epic is preserved by the professional folk singers. They transmit it by the word of mouth from one generation to another, and thus ensure that the epic remains as a part of the culture of a given community.

According to H.M. Nayak (1990: 80), the professional singers of Karnataka can be classified into two groups: Religious singers and secular singers. The singers who propagate the ethical principles in day-to-day life through their songs are the religious singers.

In Tulunadu, there are three communities of professional *pāḍdana* singers: Nalkes, Paravas, and Pambadas. Apart from these professional singers, there are others who sing *pāḍdanas*. However, only Paravas impersonate Koti and Chennaya and sing the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana at the festival of Koti and Chennaya. Therefore, there is a view that they are the authentic singers of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. The view is largely true. Though others do sing Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, they learn the *pāḍdana* listening to the *pāḍdana* sung in the ritual context by the Paravas. The same is applicable to other *pāḍdanas*; the non-professional singers listen to the *pāḍdanas* sung by the professional *pāḍdana* singers and learn *pāḍdanas* by rote.

The way Nalkes, Paravas, or Pambadas sing *pāḍdanas* is different from the way it is sung by others. Although some women sing *pāḍdanas* in the paddy fields, they cannot sing the way the professional *pāḍdana* singers do. The professional singers do not sing *pāḍdanas* without the accompaniment of the *tembere*. Obviously the *tembere* cannot be played in the paddy field during the transplantation work. Except the professional *pāḍdana* singers, others do not play the *tembere* while singing *pāḍdanas*; nor do they possess the necessary training to play the instrument.

The *tembere* is the essential instrument for Paravas and for other professional *pāḍdana* singers. A professional *pāḍdana* singer is able to develop the rhythm and tempo of singing depending on the beat of the *tembere*. They always carry the *tembere* when they have to perform at a festival of the folk deities. The *tembere* is associated with their identity.

Singing folk epics like the *pāḍdanas* depends on the context. An environment needs to be created, and the singer creates the environment. Many a time he or she creates the environment by the percussion instruments he or she plays—the *tembere* or the *duḍi*. Playing these instruments creates a religious ambience.

There are two types of impersonators of folk deities: professional Bhuta performers and the priest impersonators. Nalkes, Paravas, and Pambadas are the professional Bhuta artistes.[2] They are the professional *pāḍdana* singers. They are largely self-trained artistes.

Priests also impersonate folk deities. They belong to the same caste and the community of the folk deities they impersonate unlike the professional cult dancers. For example, the priest impersonators of Baiderlu are Billavas; the Paravas, who impersonate Baiderlu at a *kola* festival, belong to a different community.

The priest impersonators are required to follow strict religious observances.

According to some, Paravas came from the Tamil-speaking region.[3] They are called Parayan in the Tamil-speaking region. Parai[4] is a percussion instrument, and those who play this instrument are called Paraver. Since they are from a different place—*para*—they are called Paravas (Namiraja Malla: 1970)

Many communities might have migrated from other places to Tulunadu. Therefore, why should only one community be called Paravas (meaning, outsiders)?

B.A. Vivek Rai (1985 a: 31) is of the opinion that it is more appropriate to use the word *parava* in the sense of ancient, or old.

A community gets its name by the instruments they use, or the calling they profess.[5] It is highly probable that the Parava community got its name from the name of the percussion instrument, Parai.

Paravas follow the 'father-to-son' (patrilineal) mode of inheritance and this is different from the 'sister's-son-line' (matrilineal) mode of inheritance followed by most of the Tuluva communities: Mugera, Mundala, Marakala (Mogaveera), Bunt, Billava, Madivala, Kulala, and Kshaurika.

The Parava community

There is some evidence to prove that the Parayan community was once accorded a high position in the (Tamil) society. Some member of the Parayan community, seated on the back of the temple elephant, used to fan with a royal whisk the idol of the deity of the Tiruvellur Shiva temple of Tanjavur district. In this context, M.J. Walhouse writes,

'At the Brahma temple of the Melukote region of Mysore the members of the Parayan community used to receive high honour at the time of the festival of the temple. The

community attracted untouchability in the Mysore and Tamil regions after the 18th century and the honour they used to receive was discontinued.'[6]

Pariyans officiate as priests in some of the temples of Tiruchinapalli. In Kerala the persons belonging to the Pariyan community are allowed to enter the houses of the higher castes when they impersonate certain local deities. In Andhra Pradesh, there was a king of the Pariyan community with the name Adiraja Sen (Kamalaksha: 1968: 1381 – 143?)

'Koti Chennaya (Baider) appeared in the dream of Enmur Ballala. He tried to find out who could sing the *paddana* of the heroic deeds of the Baider. He found a Parava gathering creepers on the Enmur hillock. The Parava had witnessed the Enmur battle that raged for seven days and seven nights. The Ballala felt that he found the right person. Thereafter, singing the *paddana* of Baider and dancing at their festival became the prerogative of the Paravas.' (Bannanje Babu Amin and Mohan Kotian: 1990: 171 – 2)

There are legends that suggest that Pambadas were the professional singers of the Koti Chennaya Paddana. There is a mention of Pambada Ramu[7] in one of the legends on Kujumba Kanja.

Some of the observances of the Paravas

While finalizing a marriage alliance, Paravas follow the lineage system; the lineage of the girl and the boy should not be the same; the members of the Bangera and the Salian lineages, or the Bangera and the Pulyatan lineages can inter-marry. The boy looks for a suitable girl for him; the marriage takes place in the house of the boy, and the marriage procession of the girl comes to his house. The boy has to give to the girl 101 rupees as dowry; once upon a time, the amount was twelve rupees and a quarter. The bridegroom has to make the bridal ornament—a golden chain with black beads. At an auspicious time fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom ties the chain of black beads around the neck of the bride. The brother-in-law of the bridegroom is also made to put on such a chain. When the rice grains are splattered on the couple, they are splattered on him as well. Both the bride and the groom wear toe rings. Then there is a ritual of pouring sacred water on the palms of the couple.

There is a belief among the Paravas that the chain of black beads protects the bride against the evil eye as well as against lascivious men. (Babu Parava: 1992)

Baby shower (pregnancy) ceremony takes place in the house of the boy; delivery used to take place at her natal home. The groom has to meet the expenses of delivery and provide the necessary provisions for the care of the new mother. On the 16th day of delivery, the naming ceremony of the new-born takes place and the baby is put in the cradle on that day. The caste heads must be invited for the naming ceremony and the cradle must be procured by the natal family of the new mother. The privilege of announcing the name of the baby is that of the grandfather or the grandmother. The baby may be given an additional name.

When a girl reaches puberty she is given a purificatory bath - 'marriage by pouring

water' *(nīr madme)* - by a Brahmin priest and the girl is taken to the house of the priest for the purpose. The ritual bath can be organized at home by bringing the sanctified water from the house the priest. Till the ritual bath, she is isolated and she has to eat coconut kernel, beaten rice, and jaggery.

The ritual bath may be given on the 11th, 12th or 13th day of her first menstruation. The girl is seated on a round pack of paddy. Four coconuts are placed on four corners. Four women hold a sheet of cloth over her head and on the cloth, sprinkle holy water or water drawn from the well. The sprinkled water drops fall on girl. Areca nut flower is necessary for the ritual.

After the purification ceremony, for a short period, the girl is required to change her residence: She is sent to the house of her maternal uncle, to her brother's house, or to the house her grandparents. This is supposed to be training for her to live away from her natal family after marriage.

There was once a system of 'cradle-marriage'. The boy's side would put some golden ornament around the neck of the girl who is still in the cradle and declare that they want the girl for their boy. This was called *bangār madme* (lit. golden marriage). Reference to this kind of marriage occurs in the *paḍḍanas*.

Paravas cremate their dead; after the cremation, heaping bones and ashes (*dūpe*) of the dead person, they prepare a mound. The last rites are performed on the 13th day. Felling areca nut trees, funeral towers are set up, and such towers are not set up for women. Inside the house of the dead, a smaller tower is also set up whether the dead person is a male or a female. On the day of the final rites, there is a ritual of integrating the spirit of the dead person with the spirits of other dead persons of the family. On the 16th day, there is an offering of cooked food to the spirit of the dead person *(agel)* and also to the spirits of the ancestors of the family.

Inheritance is by the 'father-to-son' line. The clan deity of Paravas is Lord Venkataramana of Tirupati and the family folk deity is Annappa Panjurli. In the month of Sōṇa, on a Saturday, Paravas make an offering of money to Lord Venkataramana of Tirupati; they put money (coins) in a special treasure chest *(muḍipu)* to be emptied later into a *hundi* (a huge collection chest) at Tirupati. They carry the treasure chest to Tirupati accompanied by Dasayya, a member of a mendicant community, and drop the contents into a *hunḍi* of the Tirupati temple, or they hand over the chest to Dasayya, and he carries it to Tirupati.

Some names among Paravas

Among the males, some of the common names are: Menke, Nakre, Padme, Chikku, Narange, Devu, Babu, Anthe, Appu, Uggappe, Lokaye, Kariye, Puvappe, Annappe, Venkappe, Pokru, Kukre, Gangaye, Dikaye, Shivappe, Kitte, Challe, Koragappe, Kutti, Tukre, Bogre, Tome, Ragu, Gudde, Singe, and Obaya. Some female names are: Thangu, Girija, Lalitha, Seethu, Dikamma, Leela, and so on.

Some of the modern names among the Parava boys are: Sunil, Satishe, Rameshe, Premanande, Harishe, Vasanthe, and so forth.

Paravas and Pambadas are small communities. Paravas are found mostly in the Karkala region: Padu Konaje, Kervase, Jarkala, Bajagoli, Mujuru, Moodabidre, Bailur, Shirtadi, Mala, Mallar, Mantradi, and Marpadi. Some Parava families reside at Kaniyur, Ichalampadi, Haleneranki, and Padumale of Puttur. There are Pavara families in Sulya.

Pambadas are found in Sajipa, Mijar, Sutarpete, Kudroli, Karkala, Moodabidre, Mulki and Padubidre.

Paravas and the ritual theatre

There is an element of hierarchy among the folk deities: Some deities are thought to be higher folk deities; and some, lower.

Nalkes impersonate lower folk deities, or *kāṭbūtas* (lit, wild, untamed folk deities). They also impersonate household folk deities.

The so-called higher folk deities are called royal deities. Pambadas impersonate royal folk deities of the province, region, and village. They do not impersonate *kāṭbūtas*.

Paravas impersonate the folk deities of the shrines where there is a flag post, or where there is a ritual of pulling the cart of the folk deity. They impersonate Koti, Chennaya, Kujumba Kānja, Mayandal, Kodamanttaya, Shivaraya, Satydevate, and so on. They sing the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and narrate the heroism of Koti Chennaya at the time of the *kōla* festival of Baiderlu. In the coastal Karnataka, the tradition of singing Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana at the *kōla* festival of Koti Chennaya still continues.

Adornment by the Parava impersonators of Baiderlu

On the day of the *kōla* festival, after bath in the evening, the Paravas who are to impersonate Baiderlu receive *chenḍ būlya* from the officiating priest of the *garodi*. The priest also sprinkles holy water from a small goblet on the palms of the impersonators. There is always a goblet kept in the Bermer Gunda. After this ritual, they sit either inside the *garodi* or outside, for decorating themselves. They would have already put on red coloured trousers.

The members of their families help them in the decoration. The Bhuta dancer gathers his hair into a tuft at the top of his head. The tuft is tucked inside a cloth-ring. The tuft is untied and the hair is parted in the middle into two locks. The left and the right sides of the locks are pulled to the sides of the ring and are tied tightly with the help of strings attached to the ring. Then *vēṣṭi*-a white long garment, is folded and wound tightly around the ring. It is the *taretra*. The ring remains firmly inside the wound cloth. Starting from the middle, another *vēṣṭi* folded length-wise is wound around the *taretra* and tied into a knot behind the head of the artiste. The two ends of the garment then are left loose on his back. The loose ends reach his knees. These loose ends are called *bettanneri* or *bertaḍi neri* (lit. a frill at the back).

There are two ear-ornaments with holes, and each has attached strings. A fresh rib of a coconut frond is inserted through the cloth ring. The ear ornament is positioned to remain at the base of the *chapparambu* (a seven-branch crown or headgear), and with the rib, it is fastened on the ear-lobe. The string attached to the ornament is tied around the neck. In the middle of each ear ornament, a tassel of the Jungle flame flower (*kēpula*) is tied.

Then the headgear is positioned and tied with the ribs inserted through the ring. Around the base of the headgear another long garment is wound and tied at the back. The ends of the garment are left loose. Hence, at the back of the artiste, now there are four ends of the two long garments. On the wound garment, at the base of the crown, a head-ornament is tied.

To tie the anklets, the artiste needs dry (withered) areca nut spathes. They are soaked in water and cut into required shapes so that they remain firmly on the ankles. The lower edges of the cut spathes are hammered and smoothened. First two pieces are placed on each ankle, and over the two pieces, a third piece is placed, and all the pieces are tied together. Then the artiste puts on a pair of beaded, heavy, bronze anklets (*gaggara*).

The type of anklets used at the *kōla* festival of all the folk deities is identical. There are around 25 to 50 small iron balls inside the anklet. Sometimes the anklets may be of silver or gold. However, they do not produce the characteristic sound similar to the one produced by the bronze anklets. The sound of the anklets is very important in the festival of any folk deity. The sound creates a sort of supernatural ambience. After putting on the anklets, the artiste sits for facial painting (*aradala*). *Aradala* is a yellow orpiment used by the Bhuta artistes. It is available in the market. The artiste mixes the *aradala* powder with oil, and applies this pigment on his face. Then he may apply white, or black, or red pigments over his eye brows, eyelids, cheeks, chin, and forehead. He may draw the sign of the sun or the moon on his forehead. The sun is represented by a circle, and the moon, by a half-moon figure.

The spirit-dancer impersonating Koti draws the sign of the sun on his forehead, and the impersonator of Chennaya, the sign of the moon. There may be slight differences in the paint applied on the corners of the eyes of the Koti impersonator and the Chennaya impersonator. The artiste puts on a wavy skirt-like garment with frills made from the pleated white, black, rich blue and green saris. The garment is called *bālmunḍu*. Another piece of garment with green, blue, and white stripes is tied to the waist of the artiste at his back.

Then the artiste puts on an open red shirt with ribbons and shirt is fastened with ribbons. There are frills on the sleeves of the shirt. The frills may be of white, black, or green colour. Stitching frills on the sleeves of the shirts of the Bhuta dancers is a new development. The artiste then puts on a silver neck-ornament. Below the neck-ornament, he wears a chest-ornament, *edekāre*. Then the artiste ties tassels of jungle flame flower around his arms, hands, and wrists. He puts on white, black and blue, shawl-like garments around his neck that hang from his shoulders from the front.

He slips a Royal whisk on his right ring finger and holds a *suriya* in the same hand. He slips a long handkerchief on his left ring finger (there is a ring attached to the handkerchief as well as the Royal whisk). Then he puts on the moustache.

Once upon a time, the moustaches were made from the hanging roots of *mādēru*, or *tarōli* tree; then they were made from the fibres of toddy palms (*Caryota urens*); and now there are made of silver.

The decoration of spirit-dancers of Koti Chennaya takes around one hour and a half. They need help from others. Sometimes when help is not available, three impersonators help one another.

Children of Paravas

At the time of a *kōla* festival, sometimes the children of Paravas dance along with their elders, and imitate their dance steps. Thus they get an opportunity to learn the basics of the possession ritual. It is a process of self-learning. They also provide entertainment.

Artistes of the ritual theatre

Whenever they have to perform at a *kōla* festival, Pavaras, Pambadas, or Nalkes go with their families. The members of the family help the artistes in adorning themselves with the ornaments and costumes appropriate to the folk deities they impersonate. They make various artefacts needed for the possession ritual. The women members sing *pāḍḍanas* as assistant singers and play the *karanḍa*[8] to the provide background music. Of course they get a free meal at the venue of the *kōla* festival, or in the house of the manager of the shrine.

The Bhuta performers—Nalkes, Paravas and Pambadas—make artistic halos and masks with tender coconut fronds and dry areca nut spathes. At the festival of Nalkettayi folk deity of Balandi of Peraru and Sajipa, the deity has an artistic halo made from 1001 areca spathes, and the halo is prepared by Pambadas. The creative ways in which they do the facial painting and adorn themselves at the time of the festival of folk deities reflect the folk culture of Tulunadu.

During free time, the Bhuta dancers pursue their traditional callings: making mats and palm umbrellas, and weaving baskets.

Nalkes, Paravas and Pambadas are professional Bhuta mediums. They are three separate communities and there is hardly any commonality among them. They may impersonate the same Panjurli folk deity, but there are differences in the way they sing *pāḍḍanas*. I have witnessed the possession ritual of the artistes of all the three communities together at some *kōla* festivals.

Because of the pursuit of higher education, the Pambada community has become aware of its separate identity. There are postgraduates among the Pambadas. Some of them are employed as managers in the banks. There are welfare associations of Pambadas.

The community has taken advantage of the benefits of the welfare schemes of the government.

Once upon a time the Bhuta performers were under the control of *guttus* and *budus*; now they are no longer under their thumb. At present you need to fix the date with them in advance and depending upon their availability on a given day the festival of your family folk deities must be finalized. You need to call on the Bhuta performer and pay him some advance. There is a greater demand for the artistes. People have realized that impersonating a folk deity as a Bhuta performer is an art. The art has acquired fame at the national level. The costumes the Bhuta dancers wear and their expertise in painting their faces with different colours and designs have drawn the attention of the national and international scholars. In the process, the artistes have received national and international recognition.

Almost all the shrines of folk deities and *garodis* have been renovated in Tulunadu. There is a competition among the managers of these religious bodies to organize the festival of the folk deities under their management with a greater pomp and show than their rivals. Ultimately the success or failure of a festival of a folk deity depends on the Bhuta dancers. Without them the festival cannot be organized. Hence the managers of the shrines are on the lookout for the experienced and famous Bhuta artistes.

Presently most of the Bhuta performers live independently in the land given by the government. The younger generation among them pursues education; but the number of such members is not encouraging. When all other communities are embracing social change, the communities of Bhuta dancers are slow to accept the change.

In the past, some members of Parava and Pambada communities were given gifts of land. Some have lost their land because of various reasons and hence they have become economically dependent.

When a Bhuta performer impersonates a folk deity, he is the folk deity in the human form; and hence everyone obeys him; his pronouncement is the word of the deity. Whatever he suggests, is accepted and followed. Therefore, in the ritual context, he commands respect, obedience, and veneration. Once the *kōla* festival is over, he is confronted with his lowly position in the Tuluva society.

Though these communities are now somewhat free from the control of *guttus* and *budus*, still they have to be careful in the course of the possession ritual when they deliver oracular pronouncements. If the pronouncement annoys an erstwhile local landlord, the Bhuta performer may be punished for his action.

There were instances when the Bhuta dancers were caught in the internal politics of the *guttu* houses. When they were invited to perform at a *kōla* festival, the rivals of the *guttu* house would take them away by force as they go for bath before the *kōla* ceremony and lock them up to prevent them from impersonating the folk deities at the scheduled festival.

Nowadays various professional bands are invited to provide music at a possession ritual. The bands compel the Bhuta performers to dance throughout the night without rest.

The bands receive high remuneration, but the same benefit is not extended to the Bhuta performers. Therefore, there is some degree of exploitation of these communities. They often face jibes from the organizers when they try to rest for a while: 'Do not sit down; go and dance. Are we not paying you?'

In the course of the possession ritual, the Bhuta performers may go around and collect small amounts from the people attending the festival.

Some members of the Nalke, Pambada, and Parava communities have ruined their lives because of the prevalence of alcohol abuse.

The Bhuta performers have not reaped any benefits from the improved finances of the shrines that have been renovated though these communities must have been responsible for the name and fame of many the *garodis* and the shrines under the control of *guttus* and *budus*. The economic conditions of the artistes have not shown appreciable improvement over the years.

Context of performance

The performance at a *kōla* festival depends on external and internal factors. The external factors are: time, place, finance, and the society; and the internal factors are: audience, references, text, medium, and then the performance. Any change in any variable affects the performance. (A. K. Ramanujan: Lecture on Folktales. 1988-89. MGM College, Udupi, quoted by Chinnappa Gowda: 2005: 232)

Performance is an important element in creating an oral legend. In the course of singing an oral composition in a ritual context, the story of a legend may be extended much beyond its known parameters.

Another important aspect is the context of performance. Singing the *pāḍdana* is one part of the *kōla* festival; therefore, there is no scope for a lengthy narration of the *pāḍdana*. Many important parts of the *pāḍdana* text are left out. Since the audience is not very keen to listen to the singing of the *pāḍdana*, the singer condenses the text. As a result, the singer selects the parts of the *pāḍdana*, and makes changes in the mental text—the text in his / her mind. There is a belief that the mental text is more elaborate than the other texts. The text the singer sings is not a permanent text. The singer may elaborate and develop the text resulting in a greater play of poetics and creativity. According to Lauri Honko (1993), a singer at a performance may expand a folk epic of 400 lines to even 4000 lines.

There is a question of authentic versus inauthentic text of a folk epic. If it is emphasised that only those epics are authentic which are sung at the ritual context, you, can obtain only small fragments of the *pāḍdana* at different performances, from different singers. The result is not quite satisfactory; you have only different fragments of the *pāḍdana* without a common thread running through them.

A gifted singer who has some knowledge of the tradition behind an oral epic may be able to sing the entire epic outside the performance context. He / she may sing the *pāḍdana*

on the request of a collector. Of course it becomes an inauthentic text since it is not collected during an actual performance at a *kōla* festival. However, here the singer can sing leisurely without any time pressure. In this context Lauri Honko (1998: 95) writes:

'The narrative could not possibly be performed in full in its ritual context because, once the spirit possession by the epic figures had been introduced, the chronologically subsequent passages of the epic were physically present simultaneously. On the other hand, this presence demanded that the whole narrative be present in the participants' consciousness. This research situation made us think. If the epic had in fact never been heard in full, its only complete form of existence was the hypothetical mental text in the singer's mind. The existence and nature of that text was manifest in different ways: it was the sounding board and background of everything that happened, a resemblance of the sacred mythical narrative untold but present in the ritual. It was not a text in the literal sense of the word but a combination of storyline, compulsory and optional episodes, descriptions for use in key situations, recurring images, formulas and phrases also and superficially linguistic material, therefore.'

With reference to the Siri Pāḍdana and the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana sung by Gopala Naika, Honko has identified some of the important elements involved in the composition of a folk epic:

1. He (Gopala Naika) does not have the ability to compose long epics; he does this because of the grace of his trusted deity.

2. A singer should possess thorough knowledge of the diction, tradition, and the sequencing of sentences. An unlettered person he or she is, the singer weaves together with meaning, words and sentences. As the singer does this, he or she describes the parts of the story. When the singer proceeds to weave a series of episodes, and coins words and composes sentences, remembering the events connected with the story becomes very important.

3. This process of recreation of the text may start in the initial stages. The first step in recreating a folk song is the principle of texture. In recreating a folk poetry, weaving the important aspects of the story or the events into a series of sentences is called the storyline by the singers of folk poetry, like, Gopala Naika. On the basis of the storyline, the singer goes on searching for the meaning of the expressions he employs. This is the second stage of recreating a folk song. When the two stages are firmly stored in the mind, the singer effortlessly recreates the folk song. Gopala Naika maintains that as he goes on employing words and sentences, he automatically narrates the details of the story. Folk singers believe that any change they introduce in the storyline is in conformity with the tradition. In an actual study, however, it is found that the changes in the storyline take place without the knowledge of the singers, and these changes increase as the singing continues.

It is quite possible that the singer of folk poetry may become a part of the world that the poetry creates.

An oral composition cannot be included in the genre of folk epics without some reference

to the heroic attributes and the history of human achievement. A folk epic to be accepted in a society needs to have an implicit consent of that society for a symbolic creation of a legend concerning it, and at the least, there ought to be some amount of enthusiasm on the part of some groups. One of the famous epics of the world, *Aeneid* of Vergil has sought to compete with the Greek epics, *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer. *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are regarded as the models in the making of an epic. (T.N. Shankaranarayana: 1985: 101 – 120 and O. L. Nagabhushana: 1985: 171 – 189)

Documenting Oral Epics

An oral epic is constantly recreated and does not remain permanent as a complete epic over a period of time. Hence, how to commit it to writing is a problem. When it is collected or edited, it is recreated. Translation is an apt example of this process of recreation. The different texts of the oral epic, *Kalevala* (an oral epic of Finland) were prepared for the purpose of a comparative study.

It is not possible to study an oral legend without preparing a text of the legend. Though a researcher may collect different texts, no text is regarded as the 'official' (*addhikṛata*) text. In the absence of a complete text, how does a researcher study and publish an oral epic?

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana: its context, meaning, and message

The text of an oral epic contains groups of words; the person who tries to understand the text has to invest the words with meaning. It is possible to interpret Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana with Bermer as the focus. It is a story of the struggle and revolt by the Billava community.

In the performance context, the entire Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana is never sung; only certain parts are sung. Therefore, in a performance context, it is difficult to collect the entire *pāḍdana*.

The meaning of folklore depends on what it does. Its message need not be the same on different occasions. The message is related to a specific context.

In the Purusha Vesha dance performance, the message given to a household at the end of the dance performance runs as follows:

'Our annual festival (*kōlabali* of Koti Chennaya) has been celebrated from the sunset to the sunrise, and we are happy at that. After the festival, we will again seek the blessing of Bermer and establish ourselves on his right side. In the place where we establish, let water flow throughout the year; and let milk flow in a stream. We shall protect you forever; and wherever you go, you will not face any problem. Let the blessings of Bermer and Ullakulu be upon you.' (Irappa Gowda: 1989)

Spirit worship is one of the aspects of the cultural diversity of Tulunadu. It is rooted in the religious practices of the people and there are religious observances and beliefs attached

to it. In the worship of Koti Chennaya, you can notice hero-worship as well as ancestral worship. The food-offering ritual (*agel*) found in some of the *garodis* symbolizes ancestral worship.

The *kōla* festival of Koti Chennaya is an attractive performing art (*ranga pradarṣana*). Two things are achieved in the course of the performance: religious observance and presentation or narration of Koti Chennaya legend through performance. Koti and Chennaya are themselves the narrators of their legend. On many occasions, Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana takes the form of a conversation between the brothers. In fact, the entire *pāḍdana* is in the conversational style. Koti and Chennaya narrate the past events of their life and then come to the present. In the course of the possession ritual, Koti and Chennaya appear in the persons of the impersonators when they embellish themselves in the attire and costumes associated with Koti and Chennaya. They (Koti and Chennaya) through the impersonators narrate and enact the events of their own life.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana attempts to establish a separate identity of the Billava community.

The singers of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana show a lot of interest in describing the events connected with hunting of wild boars. Hunting wild boars becomes a matter of utmost importance for the farming communities to protect their crops. Therefore when women sing Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana in the paddy fields, they sing with great enthusiasm the hunting episode.

The Purusha Vesha dance performance depicts the unity among different Tuluva village communities. It tries to highlight harmony and togetherness among the communities in spite of differences in caste and creed. Various characters constituting the dance team represent different religious communities. It expounds the motif of evolving an ideal village and an ideal society. The Purusha dance gives importance to all the communities and their religions. The importance given to Koti Chennaya in the Purusha Vesha dance performance symbolizes the importance given to the Billava community.

Purusha Vesha, Siddha Vesha, and Jogi Vesha are different, fossilized forms of the Natha sect. In a folk dance, generally, there are women dancers and there are female characters.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana is sometimes sung at the time of wedding. The motif here is to convey good wishes to the couple and bless them. Good wishes of Baiderlu are conveyed to others as well.

At the time of the festival of Koti and Chennaya, the Parava impersonators sing the selected parts of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana to create a mythical environment. Billavas may sing the *pāḍdana* as they tap toddy. In the paddy field, women of any caste can sing Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. On other occasions, the *pāḍdana* may be sung to convey the message of courage, valour, and heroism among the general public.

Although Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana is sung on different contexts: as a field song, a ritual

song, or the song to instil courage in the toddy tapper, it is basically a song related to a community. The Billavas who were following a traditional calling came to be identified with the hero-tradition. Thus, you get another facet of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, which is different from the ritual aspect. The *pāḍdana* functions as an instrument of totemic symbol of the Billava community. (B.A. Vivek Rai: 1993: 275)

Different aspects of the worship of Koti Chennaya

Folk dance and folk music

In any form of dance performance, apart from dancers, musicians are equally important.

Dancing is one aspect of a *kōla* festival and music is another aspect.

Singing the *bīra* of a folk deity is an important aspect of a *kōla* festival. The *bīra* recounts the heroism of a folk deity: its birth, development, diffusion, and how it came to be established and worshipped. When the *bīra* is sung, generally there is no dancing. The Bhuta performer becomes possessed as he sings the *bīra* and goes into a trance. The next stage of the possession ritual is the dance. The Bhuta performer dances to the rhythm of the music. He sings the *bīra* and an assistant assists him.

In the festival of Koti and Chennaya singing and dancing proceed alternatively: the impersonators sing the *bīra* for a while and then dance. Singing is done by the Koti impersonator and the Chennaya impersonator repeats the lines. A Parava woman plays the *tembere*.

The singing of the *pāḍdana* does not take place in most of the *garodis*; importance is given only to the dance and not to the singing of the *bīra*, or the *pāḍdana*. It seems the *bīra* is sung, if at all, just to fill the gap between two dance performances. The time spent on singing the folk epic has been considerably reduced and sometimes the folk song is sung for the sake of singing, just as a ritual.

Each *garodi* has a fixed band to play at its *kōla* festival. Therefore, there is coordination between the band and the Bhuta performers. In the beginning of the possession ritual of Koti Chennaya all the three artistes impersonating Koti, Kujumba Kanja, and Chennaya dance together. Then any two artistes or a single artiste may dance. This pattern provides rest for others.

In modern times, there are multiple bands that play at the festival of a *garodi*. They make the Bhuta artistes dance continuously. Hence, the time available for singing the folk epic is curtailed. The modern youth attending the festival prefer the dance to the *pāḍdana*. They seem to prefer seeing to hearing. New bands are contracted for the same purpose.

Whether there is one band or multiple bands, the number of Bhuta performers is fixed depending on the folk deity or deities impersonated on a given occasion. Though the Bhuta performers and the musicians play complementary roles, there are unstated limits to which each could go.

In contrast to the *kōla* festival, in the field drama (*yakshagana*), different artists play

the roles of Baiderlu at different stages of their development. At each stage, there are three separate artists: when they were children, when they went for training in gymnastics, and when they reached adulthood. Since this is not possible (more than three artistes) in the festival of Koti Chennaya, the Parava artistes need to be paid higher remuneration for their night-long religious service. Another justification for paying higher compensation for them is that the members of the band are paid much more than what is paid to the Bhuta performers.

Of late certain practice has made its appearance in the *kōla* festival of many folk deities, including the festival of Koti Chennaya. Somewhere in the middle of the possession ritual, the artistes impersonating, Baiderlu go around the pandal and devotees give them money in small amounts, as offering. The members of the audience sometimes put garlands of currency notes around the Bhuta performers. Such garlands are put on the members of the band also.

'Baiderle *dōlu*' and 'Koragerna *kaḍḍāyi*'

The playing of drums by Koragas is a part of the musical band performing at the *kōla* festival of Koti and Chennaya. They play the drums remaining outside the *garodi* complex. There is what is called a *Baiderle dōlu* (the drum of Baiderlu). The Koragas of Paddama of Hiriyadka possess a separate drum to be played only at the festival of Baiderlu. Generally Koragas play the drum at the buffalo-race, at the festival of folk deities, and at funeral. The *Baiderle dōlu* is played only at the festival of Koti Chennaya. It is not played at a funeral. There is a belief that if this drum is played at a funeral ceremony, it would rupture. The drums used by Koragas are called *kaḍḍāyi*, and according to S.A. Krishnaiah (1990), there are three types of drums: *kanchida kaḍḍāyi* (bronze-drums), *maratta kaḍḍāyi* (wooden-drums), and *Baiderle kaḍḍāyi* (Baiderle-drums). In the Kudi Garodi of Hiriyadka, in the evening, on the day of the *kōla* festival of the *garodi*, there is a practice of taking out a procession from the village to the *garodi*, accompanied by the musicians, including the drummers playing the drums.

Gariya (bariya?) kaṭṭunu

During the annual festival of Koti and Chennaya, outside Bermere Gunda (shrine of Bermer), but in front of it, two human figures are made from fresh leaves. This process is called *gariya kaṭṭunu*. In some places, it is called *sāmo*. The term *gariya* must have come from the word, *gōri*, and *gōri* means a tomb. Similarly, the word *sāmo* must have been derived from the word *samādhi*, and *samādi* is a tomb. The process of setting up human figures is called by different names in different places. The human figures (representing Koti and Chennaya) are made by Paravas in the morning or in the evening on the day of the annual festival of the *garodi*, and they are assisted by the *garodi* priests.

In recent years, such figures are made in cement as permanent tombs. In Enmur

Garodi, in the courtyard of the *garodi*, there are two tombs adjacent to each other. These tombs resemble the tombs that you find in the paddy fields of *guttus* and *budus*. The tombs are rectangular at the base with cone-like superstructures.

Bermere Gunda in a *garodi* has the appearance of a tomb.

In the permanent (cement) tombs, there is an arrangement to place offerings and lighted lamps. Donation boxes can be observed in some *garodis*.

Setting up the *gariya*

In the morning, on the day of the *kōla* festival, the Parava impersonators of Koti and Chennaya draw two human figures, in front of the Bermere Gunda. The paddy grains of the first crop are spread on the human figures. Mango leaves, jackfruit leaves, and other leaves are piled up on the paddy. To resemble human figures, the leaves are bound together with the help of the outer coverings of banana plants. Preparing these figures is an artistic work. Generally two figures are made; but in some places, three. The third figure is of Kujumba Kānja, and this figure is laid cross-wise to the other two figures, to indicate its separateness from the other two figures. The standing lamp of the Bermere Gunda is placed near the human figures.

A lamp called *sakana dalya* is kept on each figure. A bowl is made from a young coconut frond or from the outer coverings of a banana plant. A coconut is cut into two equal halves. Half of the coconut is placed in the bowel in the face-up position and a clay lamp is lighted inside the coconut half. A sanctified coconut (*sutye*) is placed on each leaf-human figure and some strands of the areca flower are kept on the coconut. In the same way, a banana leaf with the sweet dish *panchakajjaya* (lit. a sweet dish made from five ingredients) is placed on each figure. In some places, royal whisks (*chavari* / chowrie) are placed on the figures.

Nagamandala (worshipping of the *nāga* deity—the serpent spirit—by drawing *maṇḍala*, mystical designs) seems to have some influence on the tradition of making leaf-figures in the *garodis*. These figures are not made in most of the *garodis* situated on the northern Tulunadu; instead, sketches of human figures are drawn on the floor, using the *nagamandala* style.

At the close of the *kōla* festival, in the morning, the lamps, *sakana dalya* are taken out of the *garodi* in a procession, to the accompaniment of music and beating of the *tembere*. The lamps are placed outside the pandal. The standing lamp of the Bermer shrine is taken back to the Bermer shrine by the officiating priest.

The *sakana dalya* is associated with pyre. Once these lamps are taken out of the *garodi*, they cannot be taken back to the *garodi* again.

The meaning of the night-long *kōla* festival becomes clear in the morning. The chief organizer receives the *prasada* from the Koti impersonator. Then the impersonator blesses the other functionaries: *garodi* priests, and other important persons. During this ritual,

Chennaya and Kujumba Kanja impersonators do not speak. Here the role of Chennaya is similar to an assistant (*banta*) of a folk deity.

In a *kōla* festival, if there are two deities (a pair) whose festival it is, one of them is the main deity, and the other plays a supporting role of an assistant. The main folk deity exercises control over his assistant. The term *banta* means a companion, an assistant, or a bodyguard.

There used to be a trusted lieutenant for the chief of a *guttu* or a *budu* of the yesteryear, and he was called the *banta* of the chief. He accompanied the chief wherever he went. He enjoyed the confidence of the chief. On the instructions of the chief, he could hold an inquiry on a person, recover the dues to be paid to the *guttu* or the *budu*, and carry out the order given by the chief.

If you examine the pattern of worship in modern times, you would observe that the folk deity, which was a subordinate deity once upon a time, has become the main deity now. You may hear comments, like, 'Here (in this shrine of the folk deity), the power of the *banta* folk deity is more (than that of the principal deity).'

The above comment can be related to the fact that the households that were under the control of the Jain rulers became more powerful than the rulers at a later stage. In the shrines of folk deities under the control of Bunts, you would find that the subordinate folk deities—*banta* deities—are more powerful than the principal deities: Nayar folk deity as the manager of Ullakulu deities (at Mitturu, Sulya), and Huli Bhuta as the *banta* of the Pilichandige (at Kondana).

Singadana

The term *singadana* means a seat, a throne. *Singamaṇe* or *singavaṇe* also refers to a seat, or a throne. (Venkatasubbayya: 1975: 870)

The term *gurji* must have been derived from the word *kuruju*; now it is used to refer to a decorated frontispiece (*gōpura*). (*ibid*: 223)

Bermere Gunda is a kind of seat (*singadana*). It is a three-level wooden structure. During the festival of a *garodi*, in some cases, a temporary *singadana* is set up in the courtyard of the *garodi*, and even the temporary *singadana* is called Bermere Gunda, or *gurji*.

The sacred objects of the folk deity: mask, weapon, ornaments *etc*. are brought from the place where they are kept to the place of the *kōla* ceremony; and placed ceremoniously on a three-step wooden altar. This altar is called *singadana*. The altar is covered with a sheet of white cloth and the sacred objects are placed on the cloth.

On the last day of the funeral rites, a multi-stage decorative structure is set up on the mound where the bones and ashes of the dead person are heaped together. The structure, also called *singadana*, has odd number of stages or storeys. Small cage-like structures with six angles are made from the splinters of the areca tree or bamboos; and the cage-structures are wrapped in sheets of white cloth. They are then fitted, in odd numbers, into

a fifteen-foot areca tree. The tree has already been felled and kept ready. Each cage-like structure called *nile*, has the appearance of a frontispiece. Then the entire structure is planted on the mound.

In some *garodis*, during the festival of the *garodis* the *singadana* structures are erected outside the *garodis*.

Vows and offerings

Kuruṇṭu

Kuruṇṭu is a small, round pack of paddy grains. Paddy grains are packed in hay into a bundle and the bundle is artistically bound with the ropes of hay or the dry fibre of the banana plant. After threshing the paddy plants of the first crop, before winnowing, a small quantity of paddy is taken out. At a later stage, it is packed in hay. The pack has a circular handle made from the plaited hay or the dried covering of the banana plant. Holding in the handle, the pack is carried to the *garodi*. When the pack is carried this way, it appears as if a pot of toddy is being carried.

The pack is offered to the Baiderlu deities. You would find such packs stocked in a corner of the courtyard of the *garodi* at the time of the festival of the *garodi*.

Offerings of gold and silver

Gold and silver icons are offered to Baiderlu, including silver icons of cradle, and images of children in gold. You can see more than 50 golden and silver items presented as offerings to Baiderlu at the time of the annual festival of Enmur Garodi.

7.5.3.2 *Kanchil* offering

The offering made to a folk deity on behalf of young children is called the *kanchil* offering. Children observing the ritual put on bridal dress: boys wear white pyjamas, shirts, and embroidered shawls; and girls, long skirts, or saris. They have to follow certain religious observances.

Women offer silk saris, blouse pieces and bangles to the village female folk deities. Generally men do not make such offerings. The saris and the blouse pieces are auctioned on the following day the festival of the deity. Some devotees feel happy to wear the auctioned articles as *prasada* of the deity.

Tambila

Worship of Bermer

Before the start of the *agel* offering or the *kōla* ceremony in a *garodi*, Bermer receives the Vedic mode of worship. A fire sacrifice (*hōma*) is lit; hymns are recited (*japa*), and the deity is invoked. *Hōma* is what is physically offered to the deity. Through *japa* and *hōma* the worshipper concentrates on the deity. Uninterrupted concentration (meditation) on the

deity is *dhyāna*. Saying prayer standing in front of the Bermere shrine is a form of *dhyāna*. Through meditation, the worshipper brings the image of the deity to his mind. This process is *prāṇa pratiṣthe*—investing life in the image of the deity. Throughout a given ritual or ceremony, the image is believed to possess life. After the ritual, it is temporarily dispossessed of life, and this is *visarjane*. After *visarjane* the image no longer possesses divinity.

Biri tambila

In the *visarjane* ritual in the *garodi*, at the end of the *kōla* festival, the lamps kept on the human figures are ceremoniously taken out of the *garodi*. It is called *biripunu* (lit. dismantling), or *agapunu* (lit. dispersing).

Gariya jāpunu

At the end of the *kōla* festival, in the morning, the priest-impersonator of Koti removes the lamps placed on the human figures and keeps them on a platter, and says a short prayer. Then he brings the platter, with the lamps, outside the *garodi* and keeps it in the pandal. After sprinkling *kuri nīr* (water mixed with turmeric and lime) on the leaf figures, the Paravas untie the figures.

Suriya pāḍunu

Weapons get importance in hero-worship. *Suriyas*, swords, bows and arrows symbolize heroes or heroines. A folk hero or heroine is identified by his or her weapon. Worship of the hero or heroine is quite often the worship of weapons. The weapons are decorated and taken in a procession at the time of the worship of the heroes.

The impersonator of the folk deity carries the weapon associated with the hero or the heroine most of the time during the possession ritual. He exhibits the weapon in various ways and these actions are synchronized with the dance steps. Thus, he enacts the battle scene. The entire scene is artistically presented. As the tempo of the dance reaches a high level, the dancer may enact the action of stabbing, piercing, and whipping himself; if there are two impersonators, they may stage a mock battle where one may defeat the other.

In the *kōla* festival of Koti Chennaya, the Billava priest-impersonators enact the action of stabbing themselves and the action is one of the most significant aspects of the entire ritual. Holding the pointed-ends of the *suriyas,* they apparently stab themselves on the chest or the stomach. At this stage they are in a state of trance, and lose consciousness. They are held from falling down. Gradually they recover, and pull out the *suriyas* from their persons. A betel leaf smeared with sandalwood paste is pressed on the 'wound' of each priest. The sandalwood paste is believed to heal the wound.

When the ritual of self-stabbing takes place, the devotees become very much moved by the scene and regard the ritual as an extremely serious event. According to them, the weapon may enter deep into the body of the priest. Because of this possibility, the priest-

impersonators are to follow certain religious observances for five days prior to the *kōla* ceremony: They are required to take light vegetarian meal; avoid eating meat, or consuming intoxicating drinks; refraining from enjoying conjugal rights; and so on. They are not to consume certain vegetables, for example, gherkin. It seems once when a priest-impersonator enacted the action of stabbing himself, his sword entered deep into his body and when it was pulled out, a slice of gherkin was sticking to the point of his sword. Therefore, a legend has developed that a priest performing the possession ritual of Koti Chennaya should not consume gherkin as a part of his religious observances.

It is also believed that if a priest does not follow strictly the purity and pollution codes, he may cut his belly and his entrails may come out as he enacts the action of stabbing himself.

What are the experiences of the artistes as they enact the stabbing action? According to Vishvanatha Poojary (1992), the experience is indescribable; Babu Parava (1991) says that when the point of the *suriya* touches the body, the point is felt like a ball of steel. The *suriyas* are also made of steel. Before performing the stabbing ritual, the priest impersonators seek the consent of the village chief or the chief organizer. The prayer seeking consent runs somewhat as follows:

Acchiḍ maitd erakoḍu dettd (casting into a mould)
Ājacchi karba mūjacchi boḷli (six moulds of iron and three moulds of silver)
Ramalachmaṇenni suriya (the *suriyas*: Rama and Lakshmana
Enkaleg ini aregaḷege pāterogu (for us to hold for a while today)
Pilivuḍa madyaster sangater anukorle (kindly grant us your consent, O interceder and the members of our caste) (The prayer was said by the priest impersonator, Vishvanatha Poojary in 1992.) He informed me that the term *pilivuḍa madyaster* mentioned above was used to refer to the chief organizer of the *kōla* festival as well as the name of a place, Pilipuda in Sulyapadavu, located near Parmale.

In the course of the possession ritual, the Parava impersonators of Koti Chennaya enact the action of stabbing Budyanta. However, there is no relationship between the Parava impersonators enacting the action of stabbing Budyanta and the action exhibited by the Billava priest impersonators. The action of stabbing themselves by the Billava priest impersonators symbolizes the motif of self-sacrifice since Koti Chennaya had sacrificed their lives for their ruler. In the course of the possession ritual, the priest impersonating Koti makes the following oracular declaration:

'*Ballalere appane ānḍ* (as ordered by the Ballala) / *Bermere appane ānḍ* (and as commanded by Bermer) / *enkaleg mukkālda mûji galige āṭa ānḍ* (a short display of our show has been accomplished)

Instead of calling the Billava impersonators of Koti and Chennaya, priests, it is more appropriate to call them artistes. The way they adorn themselves for the event; the skill they exhibit in impersonating Koti and Chennaya; and their ability to perform possession ritual in an artistic and aesthetic manner in full view of the devotees—require prior training.

They learn the basics of the possession ritual from the senior priest impersonators. The stage when the priest impersonators of Koti Chennaya enact the action of self-stabbing themselves is the most significant stage in the whole *kōla* festival. At this stage the performers reach a state of heightened emotionality, and it is called a depth sequence.

A framework is created and the ritual of stabbing themselves by the priest impersonators takes within this framework. The ritual does not consist of only the stabbing action; it is preceded by a long chain of actions: They perform the worship of the *suriyas*; stand in front of the Bermere Gunda and seek the blessing of Bermer; hold the *suriyas* aloft in a fearsome, but artistic manner; display the weapons; and then stab themselves.

The oral tradition

There are various stages in a *kōla* festival of Koti Chennaya.

***Paṭṭāvu jappunu* (singing the greatness of Bermer and Parmale Ballala)**

After decorating themselves, the Parava impersonators of Koti Chennaya stand near the *gariya*, in front of the Bermere shrine. They sing the *pāḍdana* narrating the birth of Bermer; how he came to be established and worshipped. Then, in a fast pace, they narrate the story and genealogy of Parmale Ballala and the history of the *garodi* organizing the festival. As the singing reaches a fast pace—it takes around ten to fifteen minutes to reach this stage—there is loud music and bursting of fireworks. In the end, the impersonators go into a trance, and in a state of trance, they come out of the *garodi* and enter the pandal. Then there is the circumambulation ceremony in which the Parava impersonators go around the *garodi* three times accompanied by the organizers, important persons of the village, and the music bands.

Puṭṭu balake

In *Puṭṭu balake* ('birth and development'), the Billava priest-impersonators, in a state of trance, narrate slowly the birth and development of Koti and Chennaya; and how they (Koti and Chennaya) established themselves in the *garodi* whose festival is currently on. Koti and Chennaya make the following pronouncement: 'We got sixty six *garodis* and thirty three *tāvus* established.'

This part of the possession ritual where the priest-impersonators go into a trance is called *mānyecchi*. Here you get the details of the history of the *garodi* and the miracles worked by Koti and Chennaya in establishing this particular *garodi*.

Koti and Chennaya proclaim:

'When we came through the sky, we were like the sun and the moon / When we came down to the earth, as Bermer's retinue, we appeared / And then we made people to proclaim that we are Koti and Chennaya.'

Nuḍi

The priest-impersonators and the Bhuta performers bless the village head, chiefs of the *guttus, budus*, and *barkes*, and other devotees in an ornamental, embellished language, and this blessing is called *nuḍi*.

Huṭṭukaṭṭ

At the end of the *kōla* festival, there is the practice of singing the *pāḍdana* of the birth, development, and the history of Kujumba Kānja, Deyi Baidedi, and Koti and Chennaya. The reference to Kujumba Kanja occurs only on this occasion. When the birth is described, at each line of the narration, the officiating priest sprinkles water on the ground from a pitcher with strands of areca flower.

All the aforesaid rituals are independent traditions. And yet they do contain local legends concerning each *garodi*. One example is Majuru Garodi. Here the Billava priest impersonating Koti says:

'*Mabala Nayaka beriye baida* (we followed Mabala Nayaka) / *Pāḍida padināji kōlu* (At Pāḍi, a sixteen-*kōlu*) / *Āyada garoḍi kaṭṭavonḍa* (*garodi* with a fixed design, we got it established)

Transitional sequences

A religious performance consists of different transitional sequences. Some of them involve highly charged events. These high-voltage events possess certain unique characteristics: highly charged dance performances, long dance performances, beating oneself with the prearranged weapons, assuming distorted postures, and convergence of many folk deities at one place. (Blackburn: 1986: 175 – 7; 1988: 31 – 47) In his study on *Bow Song*, he describes the secular events and the different layers of religious worship in terms of the model of heightened emotionality. In a ritual context, heightened emotionality or ritual depth can be observed when the death of a folk hero is narrated rather than while narrating his birth.

In the villages of Dakshina Kannada, Peter J. Claus has conducted similar studies on ritual depth in the context of the death of local heroes and heroines and their subsequent apotheosis.

As noted by me (Nandavara), in the *kōla* festival of Koti and Chennaya, heightened emotionality is manifested when the Parava impersonators descend from the *garodi* to the pandal, when the Billava priests impersonate Koti and Chennaya and enact the action of stabbing themselves, and when Mani Bąle (Mayandal) enters the pandal. When these events are presented in the pandal, there is loud music, deafening fireworks, and dim light. Devotees crowd the pandal. Heightened emotionality, loud music, bursting of fireworks, and crowding of the devotees—are the performance markers at a folk festival. As a result, a sort of ethereal world is created.

Blackburn was perhaps the first person who coined the term *performance marker* when he studied *Bow Song*. In 1986, in an article, *Performance Markers in an Indian Story-type*, he describes the, 'devices that direct the audiences' attention to the select parts of the story.' (p. 167) He has identified five such devices (performance markers): delivery style of the song; a vowel at end of a line of the song; the vowel is stretched; a screaming, loud background music; and finally the rhythm.

Performances markers, according to Blackburn, form a sequence. The sequence results in performance syntax.

Even in the spirit worship of the Tuluvas, there are different transitional sequences. Chinnappa Gowda (1990: 82) refers to sixteen traditions in a *nema* (or *kōla*) festival.

The following transitional sequence can be observed in a *nema* festival of Koti Chennaya: the Parava impersonators singing the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana in front of the Bermer shrine placing a wooden stand (*jiḍḍe*) on the day of the *agel* ceremony; applying orpiment and doing adornment by them; singing of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana standing in front of the Bermere shrine on the day of the *nēma* festival; descending to the pandal; dancing and singing the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana; possession ritual by the Billava priests and enacting the action of stabbing themselves; entry of Mayandal; narrating the story of Kujumba Kanja and Deyi Baidedi; the Parava impersonators enacting the action of stabbing themselves; offerings to Baiderlu; blessing the devotees by the Parava impersonators; offering *prasada* to the devotees; making an offering to Bermer, and the rituals at end of the festival—all these activities form a transitional sequence.

As pointed by Abhaya Kumar (1990: 6), there are similar stages in the *kōla* festival of the Mugerlu folk deities and the different stages constitute a transitional sequence.

The performance studies of the *kōla* festivals reveal the structure of *kōla* performance; the relationship between the performer and the audience; beliefs underlying these performances; and the historicity, morphology, motifs, and the magical aspects of these performances. In the course of the festival, you get the meaning of each unit of the performance. To find out whether a particular performance is in tune with tradition or whether there has been any interpolation to a *pāḍdana* text can be determined by studying different texts of a *pāḍdana*. To prove that a particular performance is rooted in a specific tradition, you need to collect at least two versions of the *pāḍdana*.

The presentation of a folklore episode (*sangati*)[9] through a performance is an opportunity to evaluate the performance of the performer; and it is also an opportunity to evaluate and see whether the persons who are supposed to protect the folk tradition, have indeed done so.

Mythology and Practice

According to some authorities, folklore and written literature have been evolved from certain practices of the people. (Raglan: 1936). The main contribution of Raglan has been

the analysis of mythology and the historicity of fairy tales. According to him, the origin of mythology and fairy tales can be traced to the practices of the people; and their origin cannot be traced to history.

Hierarchy among the folk deities

You can discern a hierarchical order among the folk deities. Even in a *garodi*, the main deity is Bermer; he receives worship first, and then the other folk deities. Many other folk deities are worshipped in a *garodi*, apart from Koti Chennaya.

In the *garodis* which are under the control of Jains and Bunts, Kodamanthaya and Kokkinanthaya are the main deities; and the festival of these deities takes place a day before the festival of Koti and Chennaya. They have independent shrines and receive separate worship.

Bermer, Kodamanthayaand other similar folk deities are regarded as higher order deities. In the festival of Kodamanittaya, there is no mention of Koti and Chennaya, or the other folk deities housed in the *garodi* complex. At the time of the festival of Kodamanthaya folk deity, the ceremony takes place in front of the shrine of this deity and the impersonator of the deity does not circumambulate the *garodi*. When the festival of Koti and Chennaya takes place, the impersonators of Koti Chennaya circumambulate the shrine of Kodamanthaya and make an offering to the folk deity, and then they circumambulate the *garodi*. Generally, the shrine of Kodamanthaya is located on the right side of the shrine of Koti Chennaya.

A general structure of a Koti Chennaya festival:

Unfurling of a white parasol—>festival of Bermer or Kodamanthaya—>carrying the lighted cloth torches—>the dance performance by the Baiderlu impersonators—>the background music—>chief organizers—>devotees.

Notes:

1. At the time of embellishing themselves the Bhuta performers do not usually put on moustaches. In some places they put on the moustaches as the *pāḍdana* reaches the stage where Koti and Chennaya have already become accomplished warriors. In the *garodis* located on the southern Tulunadu, they put on moustaches after the first round of possession ritual is over. After the first round, the Bhuta performers enter the *garodi* again and at that time they sport moustaches. Since the first stage of the ritual is related to the childhood of Koti Chennaya, the spirit-impersonators of Koti Chennaya do not tie moustaches. In the northern Tulunadu, they wear moustaches right from the beginning of the possession ritual.
2. According to Paltadi Ramakrishna Achar (1990: 94) even the members of the Malava and Mayya communities impersonate folk deities and function as Bhuta performers. In the Kundapura region, Nalikes or Nalkes are called Panaras, and in the Puttur region, Nalkes are called Ajilas or Ajilayas.

Paltadi believes that the name Kopala is another name for the Nalke community. (*ibid*: 91)

3. It is suggested that after the death of the Mohenjo-Daro civilization, the Dravidians living there might have migrated to South India. Paravas, Nalkes, and Pambadas might have been among the communities that had migrated. Such a suggestion is made by scholars, like Father Heras. (Ranganatha Punja: 1947: 67 – 74)
4. They (Paraver) play this instrument (*parai*) at the time of various religious functions: festivals, fairs, and marriage. (Kamalaksha: 1968: 138 – 140) 'In a Tamil work of the 3rd century *BC*, there is a mention of 29 *parai* percussion instruments; out of these, the names of the three instruments are Kannapparai, Chirupparai, and Perumparai. The three instruments used to be played at the religious functions, at the time of war, and when judicial decisions were announced. The instruments were thought to be sacred and were placed on a special seat, Murach Kattil. The people who played the instruments and danced to the music were Paravas. (Sushila Upadhyaya: 1989: 23 – 4) When the Paravas sing the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana at the time of the festival of Koti Chennaya, they tie the *tembere* to the wooden seat and play it. A sweet dish is placed on the wooden seat and a lamp is lighted. Perhaps this ritual of placing the sweet dish on the wooden seat and lighting a lamp symbolizes that the *tembere* is a sacred instrument for the Paravas.
5. The communities: Nalke, Mugera, Mundala, Marakala, Bunt, Billava, Madivala, Kulala, and Kshaurika have acquired their names because of the callings they profess.
6. If you examine the local legends of any temple or shrine of a folk deity of Dakshina Kannada, you would notice the name of the place of the temple or the shrine is associated with the name of some Dalit person. With reference to the place names, Kantavara and Karinja, there is a legend: It seems when a Dalit woman was digging for bulbous roots on a hill, accidentally, her sickle struck a lingam of Shiva, and blood started sprouting from it. She is believed to have shouted 'O my child Kantāra, o my child Kānja'. Hence the names, Kantavara and Karinja came into circulation, it is said. At the fair of Baila Bidu of Kolambe, a Dalit woman is taken in procession in a cart. In the *kambula* fields where there is a ritual of planting *pūkare* (planting a multi-step decorated pillar), or a banana sapling, the Dalits have definite roles in the ritual. If you take into consideration these rituals and practices, it is clear that Dalits enjoyed high social status and important positions in the society, once upon a time.
7. According to Ranganatha Punja (1947: 70), the Tulu word *paṇ* must have become *pammada*. However the name Pammada is not often used; instead the name, Pambada is used.

8 *karanḍa*—a percussion instrument smaller than a *tembere*

9. According to the principles of performance, any episode of folklore is a performance, and it is not possible to distinguish the verbal (*śābdika rūpa*) and non-verbal aspects of folklore. (B.A. Vivek Rai: 1993: 269)

CHAPTER - 8

WORSHIP OF TWINS : A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Hero-worship

Hero-worship is one of the ancient traditions. There are references to hero-worship in the Tamil Sangam literature. There was a practice of singing the heroisms of the heroes who died in the war and erecting hero stone-shrines in their memory. (Kurup, K.K.N.: 1973: 18) The Teyyam worship of Kerala is a synthesis of worship of Murugan—the God of War, hero worship, and folk dance. (*ibid*: 30)

The twin brothers, Koti and Chennaya are regarded as the most prominent persons among the apotheosized persons who died a tragic death in the battle field. The Nayar hero, Taccholi Vadenan can be included in the category of such persons. Some of the apotheosized heroes have historical roots, for example, Murikancheru Kelu Nayar, who fought Tippu Sultan.

Many legends have come to be woven around these heroes. Not all apotheosized persons are glorified. There is a Chandu Chatu legend regarding a pair of folk deities called Nayar deities. When the migration of Chandu and Chatu from Kerala is narrated, it said that they entered the world of illusion at different places, at different times. The heroes, Kantabare and Budabare of Ulepadi of Kollur (of Kinni Mulki) also entered the realm of illusion; they do not receive hero-worship similar to the one extended to the other folk heroes. At the annual festival of Kantabare and Budabare, there is no *kōla* ceremony and there is no possession ritual by priest impersonators.

In spirit worship, it is a common phenomenon for a person to enter the world of illusion, or he makes others to enter the world of illusion. Siri enters the world of illusion and she makes her son Kumara, and her maid Daru to enter the world of illusion. She provides them shelter in the other world.

The idea of entering the world of illusion must have been added when the apotheosized heroes were praised for their heroism, *e.g.*, Bacha of the Kasargod region, or Agoli Manjana of the Mulki region. They are supposed to have performed superhuman feats.

Peter J. Claus (1978 a), writing on the heroes and heroines in Tulu culture, says:

'The *Pāḍdana* concept of hero has a strong dynamic quality to it. That is, in the *Pāḍdanas* the hero is not usually regarded as such because he is the incarnation of a deity or because of the actions of his previous life, but because of his exploits in the life described in the *Pāḍdanas*. His heroism is less dependent on his position in life, say, as a prince, than on the particular action he takes in the situations he encounters in his life.'

Pāḍdanas narrate the heroic deeds of the extraordinary individuals. There are instances where the heroes who came to Tulunadu from outside receiving honour and worship. These heroes, after they were apotheosized, came to be called Deyyangulu or Daivolu, for example, Attavara Deyyangulu, Manjishtnar Daivolu, or Pūmani and Kinnamani.

Pūmani and Kinnamani punish Kodyame Ballala for insulting the king, Jayasimha of the Kumbale region. Jayasimha belonged to the 12th century. Hence, the king constructed shrines for them at Paika, Mani, Bedradka and Ambeladka. (Keshava Adur: 1987) Keshava Adur further argues, with some conviction, that Pūmani and Kinnamani must have been, Dadiga-Maghava, the heroes who founded the Ganga dynasty of Talakadu. The emblem of the Ganga rulers was the elephant. The ruler of Ahicchatrapura, Vishnu Varma got an elephant, Airavata, as a gift when he performed the worship of Indra (Indra, a Jain priest). In the Subramanya region, the elephant of the temple of Pūmani Kinnamani is called Airavata. A descendant of the family of Vishnu Varma, Priya Bandhu Varma sent his children, Rama and Lakshmana to South India to protect the five ornaments that he received from Indra. These children changed their names into Dadiga and Madhava. They established Ganga Empire in *AD* 350. The Jain pontiff, Indra, impressed by their heroism, presented to them crowns of flowers. In recognition to this, Dadiga came to be called Pūmani.

Parents of the heroes of the Tulu Epics die very early, for example, the parents of Koti and Chennaya and the Mugerlu folk deities.

In the emergence of local heroes, protective deities or mythological deities play some role. These deities may be Vishnu, Shiva, Lakshmi, and Parvati. But in the case of Koti and Chennaya, God Suryanarayana plays the key role. Bermer, the family deity of Koti and Chennaya, came into existence because of God Suryanarayana. The worship of Bermer is similar to the worship of Shiva. In fact the conception of Bermer is a synthesis of the conceptualization of Shiva and Vishnu.

Indian folk epics

Blackburn et al (1989) compiled folk epics of India which they collected during the religious ceremonies. The authors collected more than fifteen folk epics and published them in *Oral Epics in India*. Some of the folk epics included in the volume are:

1. Loriki Canda: collected from Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar
2. Alha: collected from the Hindi-speaking area of Uttar Pradesh
3. Annanmar: collected from the Konga region of Tamil Nadu

4. Bow Song: collected from Tinnanvelli of Tamil Nadu
5. Devanarayana: collected from Rajasthan
6. Dhola Maru: collected from Rajasthan and the western region of Uttar Pradesh
7. Guga: collected from Rajasthan, Haryana, and the north-eastern Uttar Pradesh
8. Junjappa: collected from Karnataka
9. Pabuji: collected from Rajasthan
10. Palnadu: collected from Andhra Pradesh
11. Ellamma: collected from northern Karnataka
12. Paddana: collected from the Tulu-speaking area of coastal Karnataka

The authors of *Oral Epics in India* have divided the folk epics of India into four groups based on the area of their diffusion:

1. Local group: where the spread of an epic is limited to an area of ten to hundred miles; examples: Bow Song, Koḍdabbu Paddana, and Teyyam
2. Sub-regional group: where the spread of an epic is confined to an area of hundred to two hundred miles: Annanmar, Palnadu, Junjappa, and Kanyaka
3. Regional: where the spread of an epic is limited to an area of two hundred to three hundred miles: Pabuji, Devanarayana, Ellamma, and Tolu Bommalata
4. Supra regional: where the spread of an epic covers an area of three hundred to four hundred miles and beyond: Loriki Canda, Guga, Dhola, and Alha

Blackburn *et al* have classified folk epics into three types: martial folk epics, sacrificial folk epics, and romantic folk epics.

1. The examples of martial folk epics are: Tampimar, Annanmar, Palnadu, Pabuji, Devanarayana, Junjappa, Alha, and Koddabbu, Annanmar, Palnadu, Ellamma, Pabuji, Devanarayana, Kanyaka, Junjappa, and Guga.
2. The examples of sacrificial folk epics are: Kanyaka and Ellamma
3. The examples of romantic folk epics are: Muttupattan, Loriki Canda, Guga, Dhola, and Tolu Bommalata

They have also classified folk epics into: religious folk epics and entertainment folk epics. Some examples of the religious folk epics are: Tampimar, Muttupattan, Koddabbu, and Teyyam; and some of the entertainment folk epics are Tolu Bommalata, Loriki Canda, Dhola, and Alha.

The above study of the Indian folk epics is not very satisfactory. This fact has been admitted by the authors. The study lacks an objective point of view, and the fieldwork is unsatisfactory and limited in scope. One instance of the unsatisfactory nature of the study is that only the Koḍdabbu Pāḍdana of Tulunadu is included in the book. There are many other *pāḍdanas* which are longer than the Koḍdabbu Pāḍdana and are fit to be included under the oral epics of India in terms of the theme, for example, the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and the Siri Pāḍdana. Both do not find a place in *Oral Epics in India*.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana is both a martial folk epic and religious folk epic

Further the study is incomplete because many other categories of oral epics of India have been left out, for example, the Siri Pāḍdana. Siri Pāḍdana needs a different classification. There is no reference to the historical folk epics either.

There are many Kannada oral epics which are sung during the whole night or sung many nights. G.S. Paramashivayya (1971) has made a study of the Kannada oral epics. He offers the following comments on the nature of these epics: 'The oral epics, Junjappa and Mantesvami, are sung in a slow pace, and the story does not progress as expected. They contain a lot of descriptions. Having elaborate descriptions is one of the characteristics of an epic. An epic reflects the entire culture: the hero, his heroism, the religious purpose of the story, and the national values the epic articulates.'

Why is there no love or romantic epics (*prēma kāvya*) in the Indian context? G.S. Paramashivayya answers the question maintaining that the Indian epics are basically religious epics.

Jan De Vries (1963: 182 - 3) says that the real hero is a young person who exhibits exceptional heroism; he meets an early death. Therefore, his life appears to be just to earn permanent glory, and then to depart.

In ancient times people were very much concerned with earning honour and avoiding blame. Honour enhanced the value of life; blame destroyed it. Therefore, the heroes who earned accolades were honoured, and after they died, were worshipped. This trend can be observed in mythologies and epics. There are many inscriptions on heroes, and there are many hero stone- shrines set up in their honour.

In the narrative hero verses like *Teyyattam*, there are references to different apotheosised folk heroes: Taccholi Odeyan, Katavanur Vīran, Mundappan, and Muttappan. These heroes are worshipped. In the *Kalakam* hero poems also, there are references to such heroes and these heroes are worshipped. Vatakkan Koti [1] of *Kalakam* is worshipped. (Kurup: 1977: 37 – 8)

Local Heroes

The Kong region comprising Koyambattur and Tiruchirapalli of Tamil Nadu, there is an epic, *Annanmar* (lit. brothers). It was documented by Brenda Beck (1981) in a book, *Annanmar Kathai* or *the Story of Elder Brothers*; and the book contains 11, 500 lines of the narrative poem.

It is a story of three siblings—two brothers and a sister. The brothers have non-normal birth whereas their sister is born normally. They inherit an ancestral property; but, a fight breaks out among the relatives. The brothers are forcefully married; however they remain virgin and their sister remains a spinster.

The incidence of hunting wild boars is found in *Annanmar*. Hunting results in a fight between the brothers of the *Annanmar* epic and the forest-dwellers. When the heroes

lose a large number of their soldiers, the heroes become depressed. They commit suicide intentionally falling on the swords, in a frightening spectacle. Their sister hears their demise. She comes searching for them. After finding their bodies, she revives them. Then all three die.

Shrines have been constructed in their honour and their annual worship is held. They are worshipped even in other temples. During their festival, their heroism is narrated in the singing of the folk epic.

The elder sister of Koti Chennaya, Kinnidaru, married; but Koti and Chennaya remain bachelors. The *Annanmar* brothers shun conjugal gratification though married.

In the Koti Chennaya story, there is a legend regarding their mother, whereas in the story of the *Annanmar* brothers, there is a legend regarding their father.

Koti and Chennaya are warriors and farmers, and the *Annanmar* brothers are heroes, farmers and kings. Koti and Chennaya meet death when they fight on behalf of their ruler, and the *Annanmar* brothers fight to protect their kingdom. The place where the mother of the *Annanmar* brothers performed penance, the place where they fought, and the place where they died, are now places of worship. The place where last rites Koti and Chennaya were performed is a place of worship.

Annanmar brothers are the attendant folk deities of a female deity; Koti and Chennaya are subordinate deities and Bermer is the main deity.

The purpose of the untimely death of Koti and Chennaya is sacrificing their lives for the sake of their ruler and their village. They are caught in the feud among the Ballalas of that period and the Ballalas use Koti and Chennaya to achieve their selfish ends. The Ballalas do not suffer much. And their internal fights do not harm them. Though the heroes die tragic deaths the Ballalas survive and lead a normal life.

The fate of the *Annanmar* brothers is similar to that of Koti and Chennaya. The episode of border encroachment is found in both the epics—Koti and Chennaya and Annanmar .

The tradition of singing local legends is found in Tamil Nadu. There are about 200 Tamil narrative poems; but, the Annanmar epic is the longest of all. It gives the account of a battle that took place in the second half of the 15th century. During that period, there must have been border disputes among the Chola, Chera, and Pandya kings; and the border disputes must have been captured by narrative poems, like the *Annanmar* epic.

Similarly the folk epics, Pabuji of Rajasthan and the stories of Brahma Naidu of Andhra Pradesh must have been composed in the 15th century. They too describe border skirmishes and the political upheavals that took place in the 15th century.

Life cycle of folk heroes

Jan De Vries has prepared a life cycle of the heroes of the Indo-European martial epics.

1. The mothers of the heroes remain virgin; they give birth to the heroes without having

any sexual contact with men. Deyi Baidedi takes birth from an egg, and she conceives when she drinks water from a river.[2]

2. The birth of the heroes takes place in out-of-the-ordinary circumstances. Deyi Baidedi gives birth to Koti and Chennaya when she goes to the manor house of Parmale Ballala to save the life of the Ballala.
3. Since Deyi Baidedi dies when Koti and Chennaya are just infants, they are brought up feeding them with milk from cows and she-buffaloes.
4. Koti and Chennaya begin to show their heroism when they are children. They fight with the children of Budyanta and defeat them.
5. Koti and Chennaya acquire the superhuman abilities to deal with any emergency: When Parmale Ballala wants to take them into custody, nobody is dared to arrest them; when they drink water poured on their swords by Rama Joisa, not a drop of water falls on the ground; when they are imprisoned in the Dindumale prison, they break open the prison and escape.
6. In the folk epics, the folk heroes quite often fight with dangerous and deformed supernatural beings, animals, and cruel and demeaning persons. Koti and Chennaya kill the jealous Budyanta; tame an enraged elephant that was sent to capture them; tackle the egoist toll-collector, Dere; and defeat Chandugidi, the minister of Panja. When they go hunting, they hunt and kill a wild boar.
7. When a folk hero wins a bet or becomes the winner in a competition, he often gets a maiden as reward. Such an episode is not there in the Koti Chennaya epic. Instead, they redeem a pledge that they had taken when Budyanta took by force the 'ball of wild seeds' from their hands. After killing Budyanta, they come to his house and take the ball.
8. The folk heroes often travel to the world beyond on an armed expedition. Koti and Chennaya go to Panja, passing through wild forests.
9. The folk hero may be driven away from his house, expelled from his village, or driven out the kingdom. Finally, after defeating the forces that compelled him to leave his place, he returns to his place.

   But, Koti and Chennaya leave their place of birth. They earn name and fame at a place away from the place of their origin, *viz*., in Enmur. In the Koti Chennaya epic, there is no reference to any pledge taken by them to return to their place of birth. They meet tragic death away from their place of birth.
10. The folk heroes die at an early age. They are killed treacherously, or they sacrifice themselves. Koti and Chennaya die at a young age. Parmale Ballalal shoots Koti with an arrow at his back, and as a result, Koti dies; and Chennaya commits suicide. Who dies first, Koti or Chennaya? Different texts of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana provide different answers.

The world view of the folk epics

According Brenda Beck (1982: 196), an epic has a great story; it is a form of folklore; and it ranks first among the narrative poems. Beck, in the course of her study on the twin heroes of Tamil Nadu, has identified five characteristics of a folk epic:

1. A folk epic is sung by the professional bardic singers.
2. It is the longest song among the folk songs found in a given region.
3. The heroes and heroines who figure in the folk song are worshipped, establishing their shrines.
4. A folk epic is elaborately connected with the mythologies and traditions of the community.
5. The singers and listeners of the epic believe that the events described in the folk song really happened, once upon a time.

Hatto (1980: 11) has classified poems of the world into four groups:

1. Oral: Ainu, Kirghiz, the Mongols, and the Serbo – Croats
2. Semi-oral: Homeric
3. Pastoral: The French and the Spanish poems of the ancient and the Middle Ages
4. Secondary epics: The Aeneid, Paradise Lost

According to Vladimir Propp (1984: 74), a folk poem should have internal coherence much more than the external consistency. Apart from heroic characters, the poem should be regarded as a national song with an emotional undercurrent, and there must be consistency with respect to the characters narrated in the poem. There may be an external harmony in a written poem; but, a folk poem has its own internal workmanship.

Lauri Honko is of the view that most of the epics are a manifestation of the oral traditions, folk poetry, mythology, and religious practices. He has put forward certain guidelines to facilitate comparative analysis of the origin and composition of folk epics:

1. To determine the authenticity of a folk song, it is possible to find out the background of the composer of a folk poem, the place where it is sung and the time when it is sung.
2. To deal with the problem of anonymity of the composer of the folk epic, the folk epic may be re-formed by the presenter. If you keep in mind the Parry and Lord Principle, the composer of the folk epic and its presenter gel together. The presenter does not remember the original text, he only remembers the events described in the epic. While presenting it at a performance, the presenter has the ability to compose the poem on the basis of the remembered events. This principle has considerably influenced the way the comparative studies of the folk epics are undertaken. Hence, it becomes difficult to identify the differences between the original composer of a folk epic and the present presenter. As a result, instead of the one original poet, you get many poets and they become popular too.
3. During the Romantic period, the traditional poems and the national poems were regarded as the outcome of the collective efforts. The question of who was the original

poet of a folk epic did not arise. And hence, the epic was praised as a folk epic. Collectivism (*sāmūkate*) is the dividing line between folk poetry and written poetry.

4. In devolutionary thinking, the original composer of the folk epic becomes very important. His / her composition alone is the best and complete. However, after him / her, the presenters or singers of the folk epic alter the nature of the folk epic and the activities described therein. (Lauri Honko: 1990: 2, 3)

Lonnrot (1840) writes that folk songs take shape by themselves and develop automatically.

In modern times, authorities on folklore search for topologies in the classification of folk narratives. They identify genre distinctiveness and cultural and historical differences in the development of a folk epic.

The central issues in an oral poetry are: Where was the oral poetry composed? When was it composed? How was it composed and who composed it?

Most of the folk songs are compiled texts. When a folk song is collected with due diligence, it may survive because of the readers.

In the course of its rendering at various performances, a folk epic may take different forms. It may become the backbone of certain religious ceremonies. As a result, various cultural and religious practices may be evolved around the heroes mentioned in a folk song. The Ramayana has taken this form in South India (Blackburn: 1987: 572 – 586)

When the Ramayana is presented at a folk performance, out of ten thousand lines, only eight hundred to one thousand two hundred are narrated. In contrast, in a shadow puppetry show, the text is enlarged and hence performance continues for eight to twenty-one nights.

Kalevala, the folk epic of Finland, was published in 1835-36. It became a national epic. It was compiled by Lonnrot (1802 – 1884). It took him twenty years to compile the epic. He travelled throughout Finland and published his experiences in the newspapers in the form of articles. Later, the epic was published in 33 volumes.

With its publication, *Kalevala* drew the attention of scholars. But still, it just remained a folk epic confined to Finland alone. In 1970, there was an International conference in Italy on epics. There was no reference to *Kalevala* in the conference. In an anthology on hero verses of the world edited by a British scholar, A.T. Hatto, there is no mention of *Kalevala* either. In an anthology compiled by Felix J. Oinas (1978) on the heroic folk epics and sagas pertaining to the European tradition, and to the ancient cultures of Persia, Mesopotamia, and India, there is a chapter each, on Baltic poems, Finnish poems, *Kalevala*, and *Kalevipoeg*.

In the developed countries, the studies on oral compositions, and their publication have reached international standards. These studies are based on extensive field work and research, and the folk songs are collected during the actual performances. Hence such oral poems[3] are recognized internationally.

Yoshida Astsuhiko suggests that if you try to trace the origin of an epic, you find that the epic is a memorial for the extraordinary achievements of the heroes of a nation; it narrates the struggle of the nation and the battles it fought to preserve its identity. The descendant families of a national hero / heroine believe that he / she, who belonged to their community, did perform the heroic deeds and they are proud of his / her legacy. Kings, provincial rulers, and military commanders used to provide opportunity in their royal courts for the singers who sang songs eulogizing their military expeditions. As a result, the tradition of singing heroic songs on the ancestors of these ruling families must have come into existence. (1974: 906)

The perspective of western scholars on epics is different from that of the Indian scholars. The western scholars seem to give more importance to the situation, composition, analysis of culture, narration, and the style in an epic. The Indian scholars, while evaluating an epic, seem to search in the epics for four goals (*purushārthas*) and universal humanism; and this perspective is largely absent in the western epics.

According to Krishnamurthy K. (1985: 3 – 7), an epic must contain many figures of speech, and it also must have poetic sentiments (*rasa*). The technique of structuring a story and the articulation of the poetic sentiment in the story as detailed in the treatise by Bharat on dance, are important in the composition of an epic and its evaluation. Anandavardhan was perhaps the first person to undertake an analysis of poetic sentiment in epics.

An epic is the work of a community. The heroism of the ancestors of the community is the theme of the epic. The epic reflects the beliefs and the attitudes of the community towards life. The epic is preserved in an oral form. Since the singers sing the epic from memory, the song undergoes modifications in the hands of the successive generations of singers. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer, and the Ramayana and the Mahabharata of India belong to this category of epics that have undergone modifications.

Sometimes a poet selects the story from an existing epic as the theme of his work, tries to improve its narration, and a new epic comes into existence. Maintaining the quality of the new epic becomes the responsibility of the poet who has brought out the modified version of the epic. In this category you have the *Iliad* of Virgil, the *Shahaname* of Firdosi, the *Kamba Ramayana*, the *Sri Ramayana Darshanam* of Kuvempu, and the *Mandara Ramayana*.

Aristotle was the first philosopher to discuss the nature of epics. His analysis is mostly confined to the epics of Homer.

Aristotle, Horus, and Minturno commented on the unity of action (*kriyeya aikate*) in epics. According to Aristotle the unity of action is found to a lesser extent in epics; whereas Horus suggests there must be a natural unity of action in epics. Minturno believes that the unity of action in an epic lasts just for a year; he also suggests that there must be a catharsis of tragedy in an epic.

According to Voltaire the dramatic action described in an epic may be simple or

complex; may have duration of one month to one year; and it must have taken place in one country or in many countries. The hero of the epic may be a war hero or a religious hero; the war described in the epic must have taken place on this earth, in the heaven, in the nether world or in the world between the earth and the heaven. But the epic should have a heroic story as the theme.

Lakkappa Gowda (1985: 16) is of the view that you could accept the characteristics of epics as described by Voltaire. However, Voltaire's insistence that the theme of an epic is always a heroic story restricts the nature of an epic. If an epic consists only of a heroic story it becomes just a heroic verse; it will not become a universally accepted epic.

Blackburn (1988) has pointed out that in Tamil Nadu a musical instrument, *Hunting Bow* is used to provide music while singing *bow songs* at the annual religious festivals. The *bow songs* narrate the history of the local divinities, and they are sung during the possession rituals at the local shrines.

Blackburn has examined the relationship between narrative poems, religious observances, and performance. He has collected *bow songs* sung during rituals and dance performances. He says that the narrative poem plays the most important role in a performance.

The stories of the life of the apotheosised persons, and the songs of their death sung in the shrines of these persons during the religious ceremonies, are a part of history.

The heroes and heroines who fought for social justice are worshipped in the folk shrines of Travancore.

According to Ralgan (1949: 144), narrative poems (*kathana*) are related to rituals. These poems deal with supernatural kings and supernatural heroes. Materializing miracles is an important feature of these narrative poems; the narrative poems of most of the countries make references to miracles. Many scenes and events narrated in these poems are related to the known rituals and practices of the people of that region or country.

Rene Gothoni and Juha Pentukainen (1987) suggest that mythologies are related to cosmos and the cosmic order. Cosmogency and cosmogony gave birth to cosmology. Cosmogency is reflected in mythologies. In the religious texts, there are references to cosmogency. Nature of cosmogency is related to the religious life and the practices of a given society. The religious and historical studies conducted by Italian and Finnish scholars in the last century have come up with a new perspective, cosmoplastic.

Oinas Felix J (1985: 16) argues that the ancient idea of creation suggests that the universe originated from the egg of a sea bird; the egg breaks; the earth, heaven, and the luminaries were created. If you examine the structure of the epic, *Kaleoipoeg*, you find that at the end, the epic narrates the life of the heroes (of the epic) even after their death. The spirit of one of the heroes goes to heaven as a bird and acquires a new body. This idea can be compared with the picture of a hero being lifted by the fairies and taken to heaven as shown in the stone hero-shrines.

Ḍōlu, *ḍakke*, *ḍamaru*, and *duḍi* (names of drums) are different types of magical drums. The sound of a drum creates a mystical environment. Any ritual begins with the beating of a drum. When a wandering mendicant tells fortune, he beats a small *ḍamaru* shaking it. Folk deities and spirits are invoked, and are invited to partake in the food offering beating drums.

The stories of the death of the members of a community are shared by the members of that community. These stories convey a message of distinctiveness of the community. They also constitute a part of the history of the community. In the *bow songs*, the narrative songs that narrate the stories of birth, are devoted to the birth of gods; and the narrative poems that narrate the stories of death, are about the death of local heroes.

The birth of a hero or a heroine is sudden and the epic does not offer much explanation regarding his / her birth. Karna (of the Mahabharata) was born suddenly when his mother, Kunti invoked the sun. The sun is a clan deity as well as fertility deity. According to *pāḍḍanas*, the folk deity, Bermer, the supreme folk deity of the Tuluvas, owes his birth to the sun.

Notes

1. Vatakkan Koti of Kalakam: Is there any connection between the Koti of Kalakam and the Koti of Koti and Chennaya?
2. How Deyi Baidedi conceives is explained differently by different folklorists. (Ganganna Ekkar: 1992)
3. E. Baelaert's 'L' Epopee nationale des Nkundo (1949); Daneil Bi ebeyek and K. C. Mateene's the M windo Epic (1971); Gordon Innes' Sunjata: Three Mandinka Versions (1974); Ingel Phillips' Sijo bang : Sung Narrative Poetry of West Sumatra (1980); Brenda E. F. Beck's, Three Twins: The Telling of South Indaina Folk epic (1982); Blackburn's, The Singing Death and Birth (1988); and Lauri Honko's The Siri Epic.

CHAPTER - 9

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

9. 1 Koti Chennaya in the media

Almost all media have covered the Koti Chennaya legend. We often find characters acting out Koti and Chennaya in the Navaratri festival, and in the cultural tableaux. The doors of the conference halls and the welcome gates at the public functions may bear the names of Koti and Chennaya; traffic circles, youth clubs, cultural associations, fans, rickshaws and so forth may be named after them.

Among the Baiderle Garodis, Adi Baidarkala Garodi at Enmur has become a model *garoḍi,* and a pilgrimage centre.

At the time of the annual festival of *garoḍis*, lectures on Koti and Chennaya legend are organized; priest impersonators and the Bhuta performers of Baiderlu are felicitated.

There are various customs and traditions in the worship of Koti and Chennaya. Nowadays, it appears, there is some slackening in adhering to the traditional mode of worship of Koti and Chennaya: When a new *garoḍi* is established or an existing *garoḍi* is renovated, Vedic rituals and Brahma *bali*—are conducted. The magical designs drawn at the time of the annual festival of the *garoḍis* resemble the magical designs drawn at a *nāgamandala* ritual. Tunes of the latest film songs are sometimes used as the background music at the ritual dance performance of the *garoḍi* festival. A *garoḍi* complex may install the portraits of Guru Narayana Swami and Mahatma Gandhi. Koti Chennaya may be described using the Sanskritic names—Koteshvara and Chennigeshvara—and Bermer Baider, may become Brahma Baidarkalu.

Regarding Tirukottu Art, there is a Tamil saying: 'A labourer works till sunset and an artiste dances till sunrise.'

Folk festivals and folk dramas take place from sunset to sunrise. The persons who toil the whole day get peace of mind and relaxation when they attend folk festivals and folk dramas.

Belief and rituals are the main features of folklore. When the beliefs are well established, they take the form of rituals. Rituals are then continued as different forms of performing

art. The main purpose of these ritual-based performing arts is religious worship. Folk dramas—*yakshagana* and *bayalāṭa*—have developed as separate forms of performing art. These art forms reflect distinctive beliefs and values of the people. These values can be called motifs. Many places of worship or shrines have been set up to realise the motifs. Superhuman and extraordinary persons; the persons who performed black magic and recited magical formulae; *yakshas* and *kinnaras*; and semi-divine animals came to be worshipped in the shrines.

Even a dance can be viewed as a motif. In actual life people hardly dance. To dance, there has to be some motif and a situation needs to be created. Hence, situations which are different from the normal, and the beliefs that are of a special kind are the motifs of the common people.

The religious beliefs and practices of the people are related to their desires and expectations, and fears and apprehensions. They are also related to the idea of birth, death, rebirth, God, heaven, hell, sin, virtue, and so forth. The above factors are important in performing arts. These factors are expressed artistically and creatively in the *yakshagana* shows. They may be expressed in a folk story as well; but, you need other mediums to articulate these factors.

In spirit worship, and in *yakshagana* shows, the processes of narration of the story and listening to the narration take place continuously. In spirit worship, the story is narrated when *pāḍdanas* are sung; in a *yakshagana* show, the narration of the story takes place when the director-singer (*bhāgavatha*) sings from a *yakshagana* text, and when the artistes deliver dialogues based on the text. In both the mediums, the stories of the heroes and heroines as the representatives of a community, and their heroic deeds and achievements are narrated. At the time of spirit worship, these stories may not be communicated properly. Since the performance of the Bhuta performers / cult dancers at a festival of folk deities is characterized by devotion, fear, and possession, they do not give much importance to the clarity in the narrated story. Even the audience does not expect this. The members of the audience have different motifs as they attend a religious festival. Hence, there are differences in the motifs of the audience at a *yakshagana* show and at a religious festival. If a devotee is a worshipper of Hanuman he would not go to a *yakshagana* show where Hanuman is depicted to meet his religious need; instead he would visit a shrine of Hanuman. When the same person goes to a *yakshagana* show where a character performs the role of Hanuman, he would pay attention to the mischiefs enacted by the character.

The people who attend a *yakshagana* show may well be the same persons who attend a religious festival; but, the motifs in two situations are different. Further, the persons who attend a *yakshagana* show need not be a part of a religious festival. A *yakshagana* show on Koti and Chennaya attracts more people than a festival of Koti and Chennaya. At the festival of Koti and Chennaya, Koti Chennaya are *Baiderlu*; at a *yakshagana* show, they are the representatives of the hero-worship tradition.

The folk deities created by fear, destitution, and delusion are the characters at a religious festival. They were created by the ordinary people. They started worshipping the folk deities that they had created. To satisfy these deities, they developed various ways of propitiation: food offerings, adorning the folk deities, making pledged offerings, and exhibition of miracles. They used flowers, fruits, shoots, and colours to decorate their folk deities. At the food offering rituals, they offered the food they ate to their folk deities. These rituals are in fact the worship of nature.

Devotees used their persons as the medium to propitiate their folk deities: rolling around the shrines of the folk deities, genuflecting, torturing themselves, exhibiting weapons, dancing to the beating of drums, jumping over a fire pit, and following strict religious observances. These rituals later became performing arts.

Dancing was the sole medium used by the aboriginal communities to articulate their desires. Dance forms that you find in the *yakshagana* and in the other forms of performing arts are rooted in folk dances. Certain sacred and profane dance forms came into existence as a synthesis of various tribal dance forms. Religious dances became performing art forms. Diversification of performing arts has led to acting, delivering dialogues, actions and reactions, conflict and dramatization.

Dance forms, costumes, and facial decoration of spirit worship and serpent worship paved the way to developing *bayalāṭa* shows (lit. field plays). The spirit worship of the Tuluvas gave birth to *yakshagana*, and Teyyam of Kerala, to *kathakkali*.

There was once a belief that man should not enact the role of gods. Though people participated in the religious activities, they gave importance to devotion. Seeking entertainment through religious activities was not explicitly manifest. They might have hesitated to dance putting on the costumes to represent gods. Therefore, the role of gods was enacted through puppetry. Gradually the belief that human beings should not impersonate gods was weakened. Hence they started impersonating the deities, and added a new dimension to the worship tradition. As a consequence, the folk theatre of performing arts made its appearance.

Giving anthropomorphic forms to folk deities and impersonating them, are a recent development. In the beginning, stones and trees represented folk deities. Later, images of the deities were made and worshipped. People must have carried these images on head and went around the shrines of the folk deities.

Then a need was felt to have human mediums to intercede between the real world and the world beyond. Thus, priest impersonators and Bhuta performers took to stage; they became artistes. This was a revolutionary change.

In the religious theatre, the artistic ability of the impersonator, and his training and experience are secondary; everything is regarded as the result of the supernatural powers of the folk deities. At a *garoḍi* festival of Koti and Chennaya, the possession ritual by the impersonators, their utterances when they become possessed, and the act of stabbing themselves are regarded as emanating from the miraculous powers of Koti and Chennaya.

But at a Koti Chennaya *yakshagana* show, the artistes enacting the roles of Koti and Chennaya try to exhibit their individual talents and achievements. Enacting divinities as characters in a *yakshagana* show or a drama is not easy because the transformed characters must be acceptable to the people who worship the divinities. In this context, the work of Pandubettu Venkataraya is revolutionary. Before he produced a *yakshagana* text on the life of the folk heroes, Koti and Chennaya, *yakshagana* texts were primarily based on stories from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. His efforts paved the way for the Tulu theatre of performing arts. After he wrote the first *yakshagana* text on the Tuluva folk heroes, other *yakshagana* texts based on Tulu *Pāḍdanas* have been brought out, *viz*., Kantabare Budabare, Tulunadua Siri, Koḍdabbu, Tannimaniga, Pattada Perumala, Garodakenjava, Abbarada Bobbarya, Chavunda Chandugidi, and so on.

Hero-worship is the main focus in religious worship. It is a common phenomenon that the aboriginal communities of Tulunadu worship as folk deities, the heroes and heroines of their own communities. Twin brothers constitute the majority of the heroes.

Axel Olrik, who worked on folk stories, writes,

'Generally only two persons appear in any scene. There may be other persons in a given situation, but only two will be active at a given time. They may be contrasting characters: a hero and an anti-hero, or a gentle character and a villain. In age, the two characters may be younger than the rest of the characters and are depicted as powerless. Quite often they are twins. At some stage in the story they may become powerful. Sometimes a younger brother or a younger sister may become victorious.' (Quoted by Rame Gowda: 1974: 664)

In the Mahabharata, Nakula and Sahadeva are younger than the rest of the Pandavas. They are twins, and they are apparently powerless. But at some stage in the story they become powerful and they fight each other. Ashvini Kumaras were *Shûdras* and yet get a position among the gods. Abbaga Daraga, twin sisters, fight over a *chenne* game, and the elder sister hits the younger sister on her head, and the younger sister dies. The elder sister commits suicide jumping into a well.

The dance steps of the Bhuta performers, and the costumes and makeup used by them entered *yakshagana* long ago. In some places, at the festival of Baiderlu, a small area inside the *garoḍi* is set apart for the impersonators; they decorate themselves there. This practice is found in the festival of Muggerlu folk deities, and *yakshagana*. The Bhuta performers sing the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana in front of the Bermere Guṇḍa; and in *yakshagana*, artistes offer prayer to Lord Ganesha.

Vedic practices are adopted when the Tuluva folk deities become characters in the Tulu *yakshagana* shows. In spirit worship, the priest impersonators wear turbans; these costumes need not be used in the Tulu *yakshagana* shows. The headgears used by the Parava Bhuta impersonators of Koti and Chennaya can be modified and used in the *yakshagana* shows.

According to Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana, Koti and Chennaya used *suriyas* (double-edged long, straight swords); in the *yakshagana* shows on Koti and Chennaya, the characters representing Koti and Chennaya carry curved sickles (*tarkatti*). The curved sickles are generally carried by the villain characters. Therefore, there is a need to correct this anomaly. Budyanta is shown as a villain or a buffoon. The characterization of Budyanta in this manner may perhaps bring a bad name to the position of Ballala that he held.

Reasons for the popularity of Koti Chennaya legend

The Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana is a historical epic, and a great folk epic too. You may mention some of the reasons which made Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana a great epic:

It is a long oral composition; it is the longest oral composition among the oral legends of this area (Tulunadu). The protagonists of the oral legend, Koti and Chennaya, are worshipped in the places of worship called *garoḍis*. Those who sing this narrative poem—*Pāḍḍana*—and those who listen its narration strongly believe that Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana describes certain historical events. Its popularity is not because of its historical reference alone, but because the historical framework depicted in the Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana is intertwined with the day-to-day life of the people of Tululandu.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana was composed in a historical context and then it has continued in the social milieu ever since. A folk epic undergoes changes at different stages of its development. In the course of its development, imaginary elements become interwoven with the historical events. As a result it (folk epic) acquires a new form. The new form becomes important as a literary piece and plays an important role in worship. At the same time, it becomes a historical document. The epics of this type reflect the voice of a given community.

When the structure of the epics like Koti Chennaya epic is examined, it is revealed that the epics portray the actions of the folk heroes and heroines. There are opposing motifs in an epic. In the Koti Chennaya epic, Koti and Chennaya are revered; and at the same time Ballalas are condemned. The opposing motifs are reflected in the rituals and dance performances during a *garoḍi* festival. The audience witnessing the festival derive substitute gratification from these rituals and ceremonies.

Social significance of fairs

During a religious annual fair different merchandise and food items are put up for sale. People of various castes and creed, forgetting their differences, gather at one place. A sense of unity prevails among the people attending the fair.

People use the fair to sell their agricultural produces and the handicraft articles. The *ṣaṣṭi* fair at Subramanya is meant for trading in cattle. Even after the fair, the stalls set up during the fair continue for a few days. An example of this is the festival of Baiderlu at Didimbiri in the Muduru village of Karkala. The *kōla* festival of Baiderlu starts on the tenth

of Paggu (April / May) month and continues for three days. It is the last Baiderle festival of the season. The temporary stalls set up during the festival used to remain for about a month. Since the monsoon would soon arrive, stalls with thatched roofs used to be set up. People of the neighbouring villages, Miyar, Mala, and Kervase used to buy provisions for the rainy season from the stalls set up at Didimbiri. Sometimes people brought provisions on credit and paid for them at the next Baiderle festival. These stalls sold almost everything needed for the farming families.

Sometimes fight used to take place at the festival of Baiderlu at Didimbiri.

The name Didimbiri must have been derived from two roots: *diḍumbu* + *bōri*—>*diḍumbori*; *diḍumbu* is a drum, and *bōri* is a bull; *diḍumbori*—>*diḍumburi*—>*diḍimbiri*. There was once a practice of announcing the day of a festival by beating a drum mounted on a bull.

There is a tradition: People of the village who are residing elsewhere, return to the village during the festival of the folk deity of the village. They would go back only after finishing the agricultural work of the season.

Now, there are changes in the Didimbiri festival. The stalls are set up two months before the annual *garoḍi* festival. Three-day festival of Baiderlu takes place as usual, and after the Baiderle festival, the annual cockfight competition is held.

The members of the Dalit communities attend the Didimbiri festival in large numbers. They beat drums and dance. There is a proper arrangement for them so that they are not deprived of the opportunity to participate in the activities of the festival. The place where the Baiderle festival takes place at Didimbiri is a large area. The place is gifted with bountiful nature.

The identity of a community and the revival of history

The historical persons, and the events and the things associated with them, may be worshipped. The places where these historical persons lived and grew up, the places where they were trained, the things they used, and the places where they fought become worthy of worship. The training centres where Koti and Chennaya were trained have become places of worship. Their weapons and the pillar that they used for gymnastic training are worshipped.

It was once a necessity to hunt and kill wild animals that destroyed crops. Nowadays, hunting of the wild animals is not allowed. But now people get substitute satisfaction when the story of the hunting episode is presented through various mediums: *kōla* festival, dance performance, *yakshagana* shows, and dramas.

A ritual represents a family as a group; the ritual is performed to seek protection against any misfortune that may befall the family, and the family seeks protection against the misfortune.

You see the loss of identity some communities, and at the same time some communities

try to gain group identity using the mediums like spirit worship. Attempts are made to strengthen the identity of a community by founding associations and institutions bearing the name of the community. Projecting Koti and Chennaya through films and dramas is also the result of the same motif—promoting the identity of the Billava community.

Koti and Chennaya and the folk culture

Bermer, Parmale Ballala, and Koti Chennaya are the representatives of this world and the world beyond. In the worship of Koti and Chennaya, there is a synthesis of Vedic and non-Vedic forms of worship. Bamulla Kumara as Bermer occupied the position of the priest and he was invested with the power to regulate the working of the kingdom (*rājya*); Parmale Ballala was the ruler of the kingdom and Koti and Chennaya were his trusted lieutenants. To help Koti and Chennaya, there were Mugeras, Bakudas, and Koragas. The Koti Chennaya legend reflects the conflict between the ruling elite and the toiling masses.

Hero-worship is the prominent feature of spirit worship. The folk heroes of Tulunadu, as representatives of some communities, fight to uphold certain values. Koti and Chennaya are worshipped because they fought to uphold certain values: justice, fidelity, and non-discrimination.

Even the life of Budyanta in the Koti Chennaya legend is a tragedy; the purpose or the reason for the tragedy is not clear. Hence, Budyanta is not apotheosized. But the life of Koti and Chennaya became an inspiration for the depressed classes.

At some stage in history, the representatives of the society that accepted caste discrimination as a mode of civilized behaviour established their supremacy over villages and forests. Conflicts arose between these powerful entities and the aboriginal communities that depended on agriculture and forest produce. The Koti Chennaya legend depicts such a conflict. Hunting to protect the village, and in the course of hunting, border violations used to take place and the border violations resulted in fights. Koti and Chennaya played an active role in hunting and hunting led their tragic death. Their tragic death triggered widespread sympathy for them and the collective sympathy for the fallen heroes was the *raison d'etre* for the origin of an oral legend on them.

Role of audience

Audience is equally important at a religious fair. A specific audience is expected to attend a public performance, be it a *kōla* festival, or a fair.

There is a kind of mutual dependence between the organizers of a performance and the audience attending a performance.

There is some definite purpose behind organizing an annual fair of a religious place. The organizers would like to increase the income of the shrine under their control. Therefore they do everything to attract devotees. Sometimes the methods used are very subtle. Many legends are sought to be woven around a religious place to strengthen the belief of the people in the miraculous powers of the place.

The audience congregating at a place of worship consists of devotees, well-wishers of the religious place, and the personnel employed there, and the families of the personnel. Some of these persons might have been assigned some specific responsibilities in the past and thereafter the arrangement has continued on the hereditary line.

You could find people of different castes among the audience at the annual festival of a religious place. The members of the higher castes are accorded a higher position and they receive greater respect. Brahmins receive the highest respect, and the members of the untouchable castes, the least. The members of the untouchable castes are made to witness the function remaining outside the perimeters of the place of worship, and they make their offerings from a distance, away from the shrine.

Although different communities play specific roles in the festival, Brahmins, Bunts, and Jains are given the position of importance. They enjoy higher positions as the members of the erstwhile ruling families of the village. On the other hand, restrictions and customary rules and regulations are imposed on the lower castes. When the lower caste persons do not follow the customary rules, they are questioned in public and treated as offenders. They are imposed fines or debarred from performing certain activities. They meekly submit to the dictates of the higher castes. The members of higher castes escape from any alleged misdemeanour by virtue of their connections and positions. They rarely receive reprimand in public for any violation of the customs of the village. The system of swearing, touching the 'swearing stone' or swearing in front of a tutelary spirit is meant for the lower castes.

Generally Muslims and Christians do not go to witness a *kōla* festival or a fair of a village folk deity. But they do render various services at these religious ceremonies. Muslims have hereditary roles in certain Hindu holy places situated at Bappanadu, Manjeshwara, Udyavara, Puttur, Manila of Vitla, Udupi, and Kaup. At a religious fair at Udyavara, Brahmins and Muslims witness the fair together seated on a platform. Muslims, and sometimes Christians, may provide music at the annual *kōla* or *nema* festival. Muslims generally lit fireworks on such occasions. Most of the temporary stalls set up at the venue of the festival are of Muslims, and occasionally, of Christians.

The shrine of the folk deity is decorated with colourful lights to attract the audience; loudspeakers are used to make announcements. Songs from films, *yakshagana* shows, and devotional songs may be played. Various cultural programmes: *Bharata Natya*, *Harikathe*, and *Rasamanjari* may be organized.

Various rituals are performed and different activities are undertaken so that the audience stays back to witness the entire festival: The sacred objects of the folk deity are ceremoniously brought to the venue of the festival; the Bhuta performers are offered oil and betel leaves and areca nuts; they are presented with *paḍiyari*; they sing the *pāḍdana*; wear the sacred anklets; dance carrying lighted cloth torches; priest impersonators impersonate the deities; there is the wandering ritual; the Bhuta performers accept the offerings from the devotees; they listen to problems of the devotees and suggest remedies

so on and so forth. At the beginning of the possession ritual, the impersonators, in a state of trance, welcome the organizers and the devotees. They enquire whether the important persons responsible for the festival are present, and offer obeisance to the organizers according to the rank order.

There may be female folk deities among the folk deities propitiated at a night-long *kōla* festival: Tannimaniga, Mayada Manibale, Kallurti, Lekkesiri, Ullalti *etc*. The Bhuta performer may perform various activities: symbolic driving away the wild boar, fishing, receiving blood sacrifice, hold the burning cloth torches close to his chest, stabbing himself with a *suriya*, beating himself with a cane, walking on cinders, keeping burning camphor on his tongue, and so on. There may be different entertainment activities: playing ball-game, competition with coconuts, lifting a big, round 'stone of strength' (*Shakti Kall*), cockfight competition, and dancing to the beating of drums.

There are different forms of propitiation ritual: *nāgamaṇḍala* (possession ritual of the serpent spirits; *ḍakkebali* (traditional form of possession ritual of the serpent spirits by the Pāṇāra community); *ottekōla* (the *kōla* festival of the Vishnumurti folk deity); *maime* (the possession ritual of the Jatadhari folk deity); *nēma*, and *kōla* festival of Baiderlu, Muggerlu deities; *āyana* (a fair of a village temple); *arsāyo* (worship of Timmappa, God of Tirupati, with the help of a mendicant, Dasayya at home); *baṇḍi* (a *kōla* festival where a cart is pulled with the Bhuta impersonator seated on it); *tambila* (food-offering to a folk deity); *siri darshana* (worship of the Siri folk deities) and *Māripūje* (worship of goddess Mari)

These rituals and ceremonies begin in November and continue through May. They are held in the night, on full moon days. Dramas, *yakshagana* shows and *bayalata* shows are also generally held in the night. Martha Aston (1976: 49) has captured these night-long religious and secular activities of Tulunadu in her article, *Night life in South Kanara*.

Buffalo race and cockfight competitions are held from November to May. Some of the names of the double-track buffalo race competitions are: Surya-Chandra, Lava-Kusha, Virendra-Surendra, Jaya-Vijaya, Rama-Laxmana, Koti-Chennaya, and Kantabare-Budabare. These buffalo-race competitions have become world famous. In cockfight competitions, there is betting, and the amount involved is often very large.

The stalls set up at the venue of a religious fair draw large crowds. People buy the necessary household things from the stalls. In modern times, youth organizations, and youth clubs have become active in organizing various games: lucky dip, shooting at a target with darts *etc*. To set up a stall or organize a game, the permission of the managers of the place of worship may be required and they would charge some rent to augment the resources of the place of worship.

Many of the shrines of the folk deities and the village temples have been renovated. They now offer various facilities to the devotees: providing street lights, free meals, displaying the amount to be paid for various rituals and ceremonies, and the manner of making the

offerings. The outstation devotees often give large donations and they receive special honour during the festival. As a result of land reforms, the power structure in the village has slightly changed and the former ruling families do not enjoy absolute power in running the village shrines and temples. Hence the members of different communities come forward to renovate shrines and temples, and thereby promote their self-identity.

The fairs at the religious places have become, in a way, public functions rather than strictly religious functions. It is the result of a reduced emphasis on following the strict religious practices of the past. Hence the fairs at the religious places have become centres of entertainment, where you find a lot of hustle and bustle.

The day of the annual fair of a religious place is announced well in advance through banners, posters, and press releases. Invitations are printed and distributed; invitation cards list who is who of the management or the organizing committee.

Lighting of fireworks and bursting of packed explosives is a part of any festival of the folk deities. Fireworks are lit to announce the important events in the course of a festival: wearing the sacred anklets by the Bhuta performers, procession of the cart or the chariot of the deity, and the possession ritual by the priest impersonators. Preparing and bursting *kadoni* (a type of fire work in which explosives are packed in the wrought iron cylinders and lighted) is the family calling of some families. They burst *kadonis* at the festival of folk deities, and the fairs of the village temples. A person, certain Tomanna, who is specialized in handling *kadoni*, may be popularly called Kadoni Tomanna.

During the course of a possession ritual, devotees sometimes put garlands of currency notes on the Bhuta performers and musicians. The Bhuta performers at times leave the pandal, take a walk, and collect money from the stall owners, and the general public. This action on the part of the Bhuta performers tends to bring closer the folk deities they impersonate and the devotees.

In certain *kōla* festivals, there are funny episodes: in the Purusha *kōla*, Biranachari *kōla*, Bombbarya *kōla*, and the *kōla* ceremony of Pottabhuta and Bantabhuta. These episodes are generally presented at dawn, at end of a *kōla f*estival. The audience enjoys such episodes. Sometimes the members of the music band, Bhuta performers, and priest impersonators may engage themselves in funny conversations; the conversations may at times border on vulgarity.

The children of the Bhuta performers may dance with their parents during the dance performance at a *kōla* festival. They wear normal dress; may put on funny costumes as well. Their entry into the ritual theatre brings variety to the possession ritual. When they dance during an actual possession ritual, they become trained to face the audience, and thereby develop self-confidence.

The fairs at the religious places are organized, keeping in view the convenience the audience. Whenever possible fairs are scheduled for Saturdays and Sundays. I (Nandavara) have seen this happening in the areas around Surtakal, Katipalla, Krishnapura, and

Hosabettu. The day fixed for the festival for the convenience of the devotees gradually become a tradition, and the festival takes place on the same day every year. When a day is fixed by tradition there is no need to consult an astrologer to fix an auspicious day for the fair; and the fair would be organized even when the day falls on the day of an eclipse or the day happens to be an inauspicious day.

The practice of sending solutions to the problems of the devotees by post or sending them *prasada* by post has been introduced in some places of worship. These devotees constitute an invisible audience as far as the religious fair is concerned.

Paddy fields supposed to be of Parmale Ballala of the Koti Chennaya legend

A panoramic view of Sankamale forest, where the Parmale Garodi is situated

The original shrines of
Bermer and Ullakulu folk deities
on the top of Kempu Kepulaje Hill
(Male) at Enmuru (1990)

Bronze statues of Koti, Bermer and
Chennaya (Aadi Edmur Garodi)
(1990)

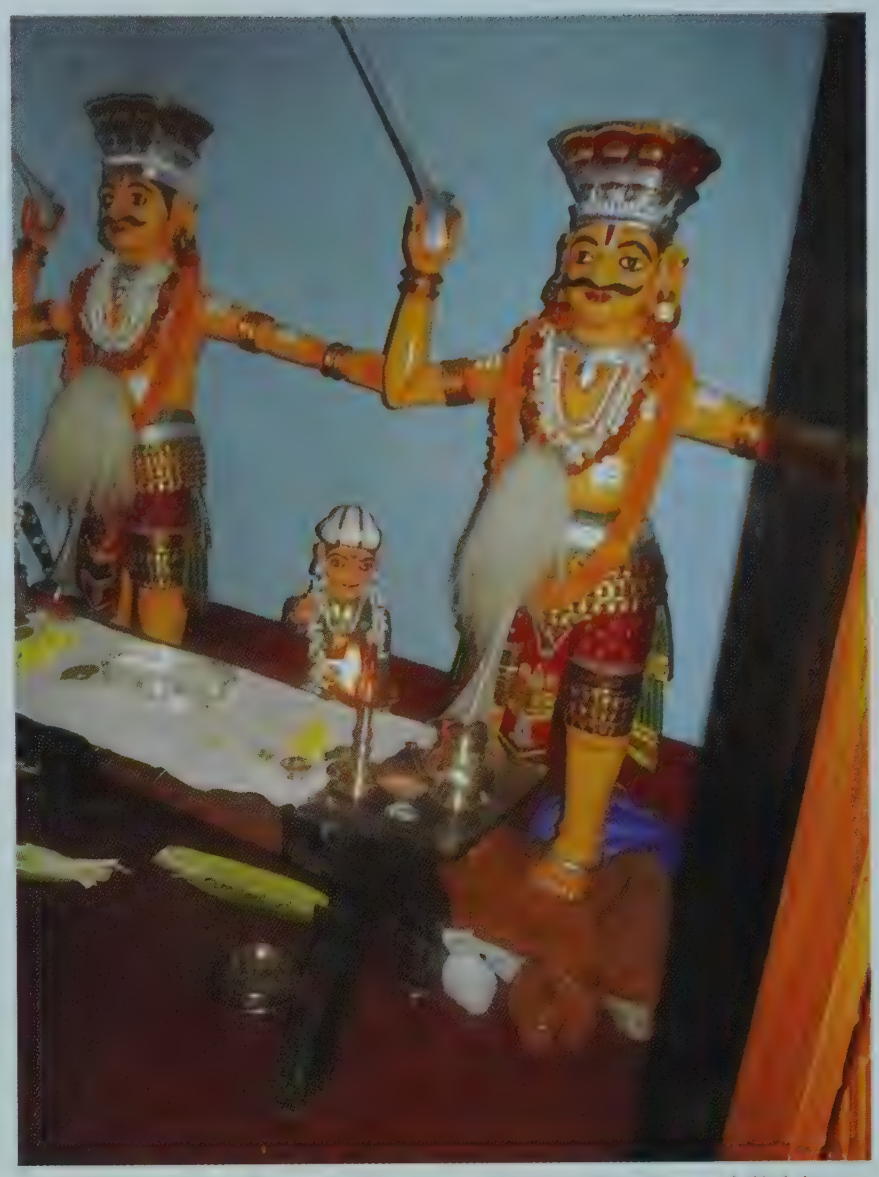
The thatched house supposed
to be of Kinnidaru and
Payya Baidya

Old Pangala Garodi (1990)

Temporary Bermere Gunda (Gurji - Sanctum)
Kankanadi Garodi Festival (1990)

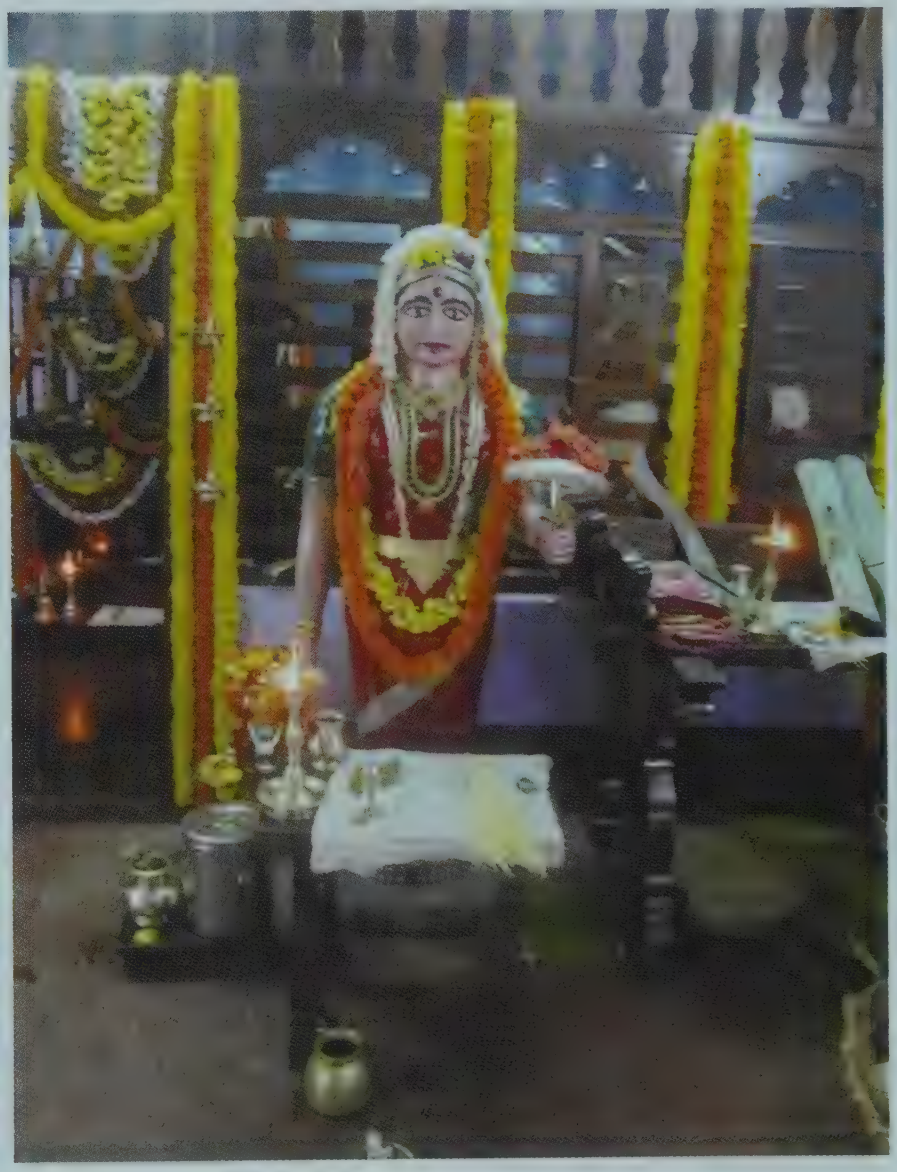
Pangala Brahma Baidarkala Garodi (1990)

Bronze statues of Koti and Chennaya
(Kanakarabettu, Garodi 1990)



Statues of Koti and Chennaya; a Muslim child in between (Bommarabettu Garodi, Hiriyadka,2014)

Statues of Horse-borne Okku Ballal and Kujumba Kanja; a Muslim child in between
(Bommarabettu Garodi, Hiriyadka, 2014)



Mayandal
(Bommarabettu Garodi, Hiriyadka, 2014)

Mayandal (Kankanadi Garodi)

A drummer playing the drum (on the day of the agel ceremony, Bommarabettu Garodi, Hiriyadka 2014)

Recital of Bantere Sandi (Koti Chennaya Paddana) to the beat of a tembere drum during the festival of Koti Chennaya (1991)

Gangaya Parava tying a cloth-ring around his head

Ganagaya Parava wearing the crown / headgear (chapparambu) and is putting on the beaded heavy anklets (gaggara)

The members of the family helping the Parava impersonators of Koti, Chennaya and Kujumba Kanja in decorating themselves at the festival of Koti Chennaya (Kudi Garodi 1990)

Gangaya Parava looking in the mirror to see whether the aradala has been applied properly

Gangaya Parava applying *aradala* (yellow orpiment) on his face

Gangaya Parava drawing designs and lines on his face

Kankanady Garodi Festival (1990)

Babu Parava as Koti at the festival of the Panja Garodi (1992)

Gangaya Parava putting on a red shirt

Fully decorated and embellished,
Gangaya Parava ready for the possession ritual

Bariya set up in front of the Bermere Gunda, Nakre Garodi (2014)

Parava impersonators of Koti, Kujumba Kanja and Chennaya (Nakre Garodi, 2014)

Audience at the festival of Baiderlu at Panja Garodi (1992)

Two Billava priests serving food to Koti, Kujumba Kanja, Chennaya and other folk deities at the agel ceremony (Bommarabettu Garodi, Hiriyadka, 2014)

Piles of rice are served to Koti, Kujumba Kanja and Chennaya and other deities; vegetable dishes of gherkin (manoli), tender jackfruit, pumpkin (kachikumbuda), drumstick leaves, topioca (marakireng) or sweet potatoes, and common cucumber (taute) are layered on the heaps of rice; then ghee is poured on the piles and two ripe ready-to-eat bananas are placed on each pile; and then a Billava priest worships the piles by waving ceremonial lamps (Bommarabettu Garodi, Hiriyadka, 2014)

The kanchil offering; children undergoing the kanchil ceremony put on white (bridal) dress and are seated on the verandah of the garodi on the day of the annual nema ceremony of the garodi (Nakre Garodi, 2014)

Tappangaayi—a game in which coconuts are hit against each other; Kankanadi Garodi festival (1989)

Exhibition of a mock *kalari* fight (C. V. N.Kalari, Thiruvananthapuram, 1992)

After the sacred objects of Baiderlu are brought from the Ullakulu Shrine, the possessed impersonators of Baiderlu exhibiting symbolic gymnastic skills (Enmur Garodi, 1990)

Billava priest-impersonators of Baiderlu enacting the action of stabbing themselves at the festival of Ramajalu Garodi (1990)

Training the children as possession artistes while they dance along with their seniors during a possession ritual (Yenagudde Garodi festival 1990)

Carrying in a procession sacred things (bhandaara) of Baiderlu from the venue of the festival to the place where they are kept (Kukkuje Garodi festival 1998)

Carrying sacred things (bhandaara) of Baiderlu in a procession from the venue of the festival to the place where they are kept (Kukkuje Garodi festival, 1998)

CHAPTER - 10

SUMMARY

Koti and Chennaya figure more prominently in the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana than the story on them. In terms of theme, structure, and style, the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana can be classified as a folk epic. The Koti Chennaya epic has developed within the framework of miracles and magical practices.

The narrators of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana are Koti and Chennaya themselves. The professional singers who sing the song do not memorize the song; rather they sing it on the basis of certain basic principles of oral narration.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana can be included under the historical folk epics since it is possible to associate the events described in the oral epic with certain historical personalities. The epic is the voice of struggle against exploitation and oppression.

To insist that the version presented at an actual *kōla* festival is the authentic version of a *pāḍdana* and all other versions are inauthentic, is a wrong view as far the study of folklore is concerned.

At the beginning of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, the creation of the universe and the birth of the human race are narrated in the story of two imaginary birds—Kenjava *pakkilu*. They are created as brother and sister. Then, with the consent of God, they become husband and wife. The universe and everything in it is sought to be explained with the help of the eggs of the Kenjave birds. The eggs break into pieces, and the universe comes into existence.

Bermer, Parmale Ballala, and Deyi Baidedi are said to have been born from the eggs of the Kenjava birds. Bermer represents the protective deity; Parmale Ballala, the ruling class; and Deyi Baidedi, the working class.

The worship of Bermer must have been an ancient form of worship. Bermer is the main folk deity in some of the shrines of folk deities, for instance, in a Siri *alade*, a Baiderle *garodi*, a Muggerle *kala,* or a Kumberle *kotya*. The sun, which is responsible for rain, wind, and light, is conceptualized as Bermer. Mythologically as a deity and historically as a warrior, Bermer symbolizes a glorified human being. He is called Nagabrahma,

Yakshabrahma, and Brahmalingeshvara. He is a forest deity, residing in the forest; and later he is established in the village and worshipped. He is fertility deity. He is the family deity of Koti and Chennaya.

Border disputes used to be common during the rule of petty kings. This aspect is prominently brought out in the Koti Chennaya legend. The activities of Koti and Chennaya were restricted to three principalities: Parmale, Panja, and Enmur. However their names or activities do not appear in the history of that time nor is there historical record of their activities. Their struggle and heroism are preserved in the form of a legend. The legend primarily deals with paddy cultivation and hunting.

There was a practice of child marriage. The Brahmins of the time of Koti and Chennaya probably followed a tradition according to which when a maiden of their community reached puberty she was abandoned if she was not married already.

The Billava community was an important community that dispensed folk medicine, pursued paddy cultivation, did toddy tapping, and wielded weapons as hunters and warriors. The practice of identifying people on the basis of their calling was found at the time of Koti and Chennaya. Since the Billavas were proficient in archery, they came to be called Billavas (*bil*, in Tulu, is a bow). As trained warriors, they were Bhaṭas or Banṭas. They officiated as priests in the shrines of the folk deities, and hence they came to be called Pujaris. As they tapped toddy from palm trees they were called toddy tappers. There must have been attempts in history to sideline such a prominent community. The Koti Chennaya legend hints at a possible conflict between the Billava community and Bunta, Ballala, and Brahmin communities.

Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana is sung on different occasions: The professional Bhuta performers sing selected episodes of the *pāḍdana* during the festival of Koti and Chennaya; it is sung as a field song by women at the time of replantation of paddy seedlings; and toddy tappers sing the *pāḍdana* when they go for toddy tapping.

A folk epic conveys some message through the oral medium. The message dates back at least by one generation. Some of the accomplished *pāḍdana* singers are: Monte Gowda, Gopala Naika, Naranga Parava, Babu Parava, Dangu Panara, Ramakka Poojarti, and Ramakka Gidikare. The Tulu oral legends have continued through these singers.

Mythologies, religions, and rituals originate from the thinking of man. They operate as the collective unconscious of the people. Beliefs, observances, and traditions are influenced by the collective unconscious of the community. The collective unconscious may be represented through images, statues, and symbols. The statues of Koti and Chennaya have been created against this backdrop.

Garodis, which are the places of worship in modern times, were once gymnasia that trained people in body-building, and martial art. The historical remains of the Nanayar Garadi of Pangala, the Varamballi Garadi of Brahmavara, and the Chengala Garadi of Kasargod have been found. There was a close relationship between the *kalaris* of Kerala and the *garadis* of Tulunadu.

The worship of Koti and Chennaya in the *garodis* is to commemorate their tragic death. After death, they were deified and worshipped. Bermer is the principal deity in the *garodi*. Apart from Bermer and Koti and Chennaya, Kujumba Kanja, Mayindal, Jogi Purusha, and Bobbarya also receive worship in a *garodi*.

Worshipping heroes like Koti Chennaya is an ancient form of worship. Gilgamesh is a heroic verse on a Sumerian hero that dates back to four thousand years. The heroes described in the Malayalam literature, and in theTamil literature were deified between the 15th century and the 17th century.

The presenters (the professional bardic singers) of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and those who listen to the *pāḍdana* strongly believe that the events narrated in the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana are historical events. The personalities who figure in the *pāḍdana*, and the places and the things associated with Koti and Chennaya are viewed as sacred. A Baiderle *kōla* is an extremely attractive ritual theatre. The protagonists of the folk epic are Koti and Chennaya. They aroused the consciousness of the depressed classes and thereby fostered the cultural uniqueness of the Billava community.

Whether Koti and Chennaya really existed or not, is not important; what is important is that they are worshipped in more than 217 *garodis*. *Garodis* have also been established at Madikeri and Mumbai.

While discussing the relative antiquity of spirit worship and serpent worship, certain facts indicate that serpent worship is older than spirit worship. In most of the ornaments used by the Bhuta performers: *talemani* (an ornament worn on the forehead), *talepaṭṭi* (a semi-circular band of silver worn below the *talemani*), *chapparambu* (a seven-branch crown), *kebina* (an ear ornament), *sontapaṭṭi* (a waist band), *aniprabhavali* (a halo), and *mukhavada* (a mask)— the image of serpent hood is found. Engraving serpent hood on the agricultural equipment and doors is a common practice. *Chapparambu* used to be made from young coconut leaves; but now they are made of metal.

The combat techniques found in the *kalari* art can be observed in the modern day *karate* and *talim*. The dance steps of the Baiderlu impersonators also resemble the actions of the *kalari* artistes. In the Puttur region, there were *kalari* artistes—Aitappa and Manjappa.

You find *pāle* trees (*Nestonia scholaris*) in the vicinity of some *garodis*. The bark of the tree is used as medicine. The presence of the *pāle* tree in a *garodi* complex signifies that dispensing folk medicine was (is) one of the callings of the Billava or the Baidya community.

Agel ritual is observed in some *garodis*. The importance of food is highlighted in the *agel* offering. A lot of care is taken while cooking the food for the *agel* ritual. The emphasis is on cleanliness.

The impersonators of royal deities wear halos; the impersonators of Baiderlu, Muggerlu, Annappa Daiva, Shiradi Bhuta, Basti Nayaka, Gili Rama, Kumara Daiva, and Kallurti folk deities do not wear halos.

In the heroism of the heroes, women as mothers, sisters, and wives remain in the background as facilitators: Daiyyaru as sister of Ullakulu heroes, Kullurti as younger sister of Kalkuda, Tannimaniga as younger sister of Muggerlu, and Kinnidaru as elder sister of Koti and Chennaya. These female characters played some important role in the life of the heroes.

The children of the Bhuta performers learn dance steps when they dance with their parents during *kōla* festivals. *Kōla* festivals become the unofficial training ground to produce future Bhuta artistes.

In a *garodi* complex, many folk deities are worshipped—inside the *garodi* and outside the garodi. Thus, a *garodi* is a village temple where people of all communities perform worship.

Billavas have been able to maintain their distinct religious, social, and political identity by renovating the old *garodis* and developing the area around the *garodis*.

On the surface, the *kōla* or the *nema* festival of Baiderlu appears as the festival restricted to the Billava community; however, it is not the case. Many Bailderle *garodis* are under the control of Bunts and Jains.

The struggle and heroism of the Koti and Chennaya can be viewed as the struggle and heroism of all the underprivileged Tuluva communities. All the Tuluvas have some kind of emotional link with the *garodis*.

There are several distinctive features in the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana: References to the gymnastic training and combat skills in the *pāḍdana* symbolize male identity; singing of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana by women in the paddy fields, symbolizes female identity; since the Paravas are the authentic singers of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, the *pāḍdana* seems to highlight the identity of the Parava community.

Appendix 1
Narration of important events in different versions of Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana:

P – a version of the *Pāḍdana*

The P1 version, edited by A. Manner (1882)
P2 Sung by Koragappa Poojary (1989)
P3 Sung by Dangu Panara, Hiriyadka (1989)
P4 Sung by Monte Gowda and Irappa Gowda Beltangadi (1989)
P5 Sung by Ramakka Poojarthi Bolma, Mangalore (1990)

P1	P2	P3	P4	P5
			Bermer takes birth at Kempula Male Kemmate Kariya, in the middle of Bīḷu sea, beyond seven seas	Suryabari Dēver (Sun God) rises in the middle of the 7th sea
	Kenjava birds take birth in the anthill inhabited by a serpent; the anthill is located between two other anthills; the name of the female bird is Bhagavati	Kenjava birds are created by Ishvara and Parvati	Kenjava birds take birth in the anthill inhabited by a serpent, the anthill is located between two other anthills, beyond seven seas	Kenjava birds take birth on the left side and the right side of Suryabari Dēver
	They present betel leaves and areca nut to God Surya- narayana, seek a boon from him and become husband and wife	They become husband and wife because of a boon from the God of Vajranda Giri	With the blessing of God Narayana they become husband and wife	With the grace of Suryabari Dēver they become husband and wife
	To lay eggs, both the birds work enthusiastica-lly to build a nest	The male Kenjava bird, to satisfy the cravings of his pregnant wife, goes to bring	When the Kenjava birds beseech Narayana for progeny, he	The male Kenjava bird goes to bring fruits found across seven seas to satisfy the

		nectar from a lotus flower found across seven sea; he does not return as his beak gets stuck in the flower	grants them the boon and tells them to offer the first egg to him; the female bird becomes pregnant	cravings of his pregnant wife; he is caught (*sere sikkitu*)
	There is no mention of the birds building a nest or the male bird going to bring the nectar to satisfy the cravings of his pregnant wife	The female bird takes a vow that if her husband returns safely from Badagu Mavori-Gange, she would offer the first egg she lays to God (swami); her husband returns with the nectar	To satisfy the cravings of his pregnant wife, the male bird flies to four countries, and brings eighteen types of fruits from four places	The female bird takes a vow that if her husband returns she would make an offering to Ullaya; her husband brings fruits and satisfies her cravings
	The female Kenjava bird lays one egg on the first day and a second egg on the following day	The female Kenjava bird lays one egg—smaller than the head of an elephant and bigger than the head of a horse	The female Kenjava bird lays one egg	The female Kenjava bird lays two eggs: one of gold and the other of bronze
	The male bird offers one of the eggs to God Suryanarayana without the knowledge of his wife; when she discovers that one egg is missing, she ransacks the nest; the remaining egg falls into	When the egg is offered to Swami, he gives it to Naga-raja (Serpent God) for safe-keeping	When the birds go to offer the egg to God Narayana it falls into the sea	When the golden egg and the bronze egg are being taken to offer to Ullaya, the golden egg falls down into the sea; the bronze egg drops on the land; it breaks into pieces; Kanchi Kadangada palace is created

	Rama Samudra			from the shell of the egg; Mannamai Kundaramane, from the yolk
	A poor Brahmin gets the egg in the form of a lemon	The following year, the egg breaks and the sky, the earth, living beings, a Vishva-karma and the necessary tools for his use are created; he builds a mutt, a Byari Palli (a mosque), and a church (Kuduma); and Kanchi Kadanda palace	Jalakara Munishvara gets the egg as a lemon that has fallen into the sea	Ekana Sāler takes birth in the Kanchu Kadanganda palace; Gundudabbe Deyyar Ginde Gili Ramu, in the Mannamai Kanda palace; Pejanar gets the egg fallen into the sea when he goes to the sea to perform his daily rituals
		In the Chauka Kilaralaran-dara house, Ginde-gilirakka Deyyar takes birth and in the Kanchi Kada-gandara palace, Ekana Sāler is born; they get married and beget Kumara		The couple, Ekana Sāler and Gindegili Ramu beget Bamulla
		Kumara goes to play 'football' with the children of demons (asuraru); they lose the game and treacherously push him into an		Kumara goes to play 'football' with children; they lose the game and push him into a well and seal it with stone slabs; when his mother

		enchanting well (rasabāvi) and seal it with stone slabs; when his mother returns after making an offering, rescues him; he emerges in a stone slab as Kempulada Bermer; he curses his mother to be born as Jaladurge of Kateel		returns after making an offering, rescues him; he becomes Bermer and later, he takes birth as Parmale Ballala
	The lemon the Brahmin gets gives it to his wife; she keeps it in a vessel filled with rice; the following day, a baby girl is found in the vessel	Jevu Kedage is the daughter born to Vapatti Madumagal and Pejanar	Jalakara Muni-shvara keeps the lemon in the room of the family God; after dinner, when he wakes up from sleep he finds a seven-year old girl; he gives her the name, Kedakka Madmal	The poor Brahmin keeps the egg in a stone chest; on the following day he finds a girl in the stone chest; he names her, Jevu Kedaga
A Totaka Brahmin girl reaches puberty and she is blindfolded and left in the Sankamale hill	When she is on the sixteenth year she reaches puberty before is married off, and hence she is abandoned in a forest, blindfolded	Jevu Kedage reaches puberty when she is twelve, and hence she is blindfolded and left in a forest	Kedakka reaches puberty at twelve; on the pretext of taking her to a village function, she is blind-folded and left in a forest	Jevu Kedaga reaches puberty at the age of fourteen; on the pretext of taking her to a *shārda* ceremony (of making offering to the manes), she is left in a forest, blindfolded
Sayana Baidya, who has gone to tap toddy rescues her	Sayana Baidya, who has come to tap toddy, rescues her	When Sayana of Eraje has gone to tap toddy, rescues Jevu Kedaga	Sayana, who has been tapping toddy, rescues Kedakka	Sayana, who has been tapping toddy, sees the blindfolded Kedaga, whose

				hands have been tied; he rescues her
He arranges her marriage with Kantanna Baidya of Kargol Thota	He arranges her marriage with Kangu hittilu Kantanna Baidya and gives her the name, Devappe Baidyedi	At Eraje he gives her the name, Deyi and later arranges her marriage with Kantanna	He takes her to Eraje; gives her the name, Deyi and arranges her marriage with Kangu hittilu Kantanna	When she is at Ekkanadka, Sayana pours holy water from a sacred vessel on her; inquires about her caste and the family background in the presence of Ballala; later arranges her marriage with Kantanna Baidya of Kangu Hitlu, Kurmbi Thota
Her first child is a girl and when the girl grows up she is given in marriage to Payya Baidya				When she is given in marriage, she gets the name, Deyi Baidyedi; her first child is a girl; when she grows up, she got marriaged to Payya Palli
When Ballala goes hunting, a thorn of the plant, *bolle karki kāyi* pricks him; he developes a disease, *badangala kempu gendali*; Ammannaya Birmanna Baidya treats him, but the	While hunting, a thorn, *bollepadikare* pricks the foot of the Ballala; when Deyi is called to treat him; she is fully pregnant at that time. (Thereafter Kantanna does not figure	While hunting a thorn of the poison-nut tree pricks the foot of Ballala; the treatment given by Amana Bannaya and Birmana Baidya does not work; Deyi is called to treat him; but she	Ballala goes hunting; with an arrow he shoots a wild boar; a thorn, *kariya katrevu karayi,* pricks his foot; Amana Baidya treats him but the treatment is not effective; Deyi is called to treat	When Ballala goes hunting, a thorn of the plant, *bili (boldu) kateri* pricks him; Amana Bannayaya Birmanna Baidya treat him, but the Ballala gets no relief; Deyi is called; she is fully

Ballala does not get any relief; Deyi is called; she is fully pregnant at that time (thereafter Kantanna does not figure anywhere in the *pāddana*)	anywhere in the *pâddana.*)	is fully pregnant at that time (thereafter Kantanna does not figure anywhere in the pāddana)	him; but she is fully pregnant at that time (thereafter Kantanna does not figure anywhere in the *pāddana*)	pregnant at that time and her husband is no more
Though Ballala sends his palanquin she goes to the manor on foot, holding onto the palanquin;	She goes on foot, holding onto an arm of the palanquin; Ballala allows her to use one of the seven rooms of his manor house for her childbirth	She goes on foot, holding onto an arm of the palanquin; Ballala suggests to her to deliver in the house of Amana Bannaya; she refuses; she delivers in a shed of the manor house	Holding an arm of the palanquin she goes on foot and the pole – bearers carry the palanquin; Ballala makes arrangement for her childbirth in the bath shed of the manor house	She goes on foot, holding onto an arm of the palanquin. When Birmanna Baidya is requested to allow her to deliver in his house, he refuses and insults her; she refuses to accept the arrangement made in the bath shed and the fodder shed of the manor house; hence Ballala allows her to deliver in one of the seven rooms of the manor house
To give her a reward (*sēje pāl*) for saving his life, Ballala tells her that he wants to consult Budhyanta; realizing his	Ballala promises to give her one *adi* out of his seven *adis* of land for saving his life	To give her a reward (sēje pāl) for saving his life, Ballala tells her that he wants to consult Chavadi Santayya and Bidu Bommayya;	Ballala honours and felicitates Deyi for saving his life	Ballala honours and felicitates Deyi for saving his life; he gives her a part of the reward for her service and promises to give

mistake he grants her a part of the reward and promises to give the rest to her children		swelling develops again in the foot of the Ballala that has healed; he agrees to give her the reward		the rest to the children to be born to her
Amana Bannaya and Birmana Baidya perform black magic on Deyi and cause her death	On the sixteenth day of her childbirth when she is washing the soiled clothes of her children, a leaf from a red coconut tree falls on her and she dies	Sixteen days after her childbirth, with her children she returns to Eraje; Ballala sends the children in his palanquin; one week later when she is sitting on the platform constructed around a red coconut tree, a fresh leaf from the tree falls on her and she dies	On the sixteenth day of her childbirth when she is washing soiled the clothes of her children in a culvert, a fresh leaf falls from a red coconut tree on her and she dies	On the sixteenth day of her childbirth when she has gone to take bath, a fresh leaf from a red coconut tree falls on her and she dies
Koti Chennaya defeat children of Budyanta in a game of *yetpicchi*; the children complain to Budyanta; he snatches *yetpicchis* (cashewnuts) from Koti and Chennaya; they tell him, 'Since we are young you have snatched the *yetpicchis* from us; tie them and keep them	A fight breaks out between Koti and Chennaya and the children of Budyanta over a game of *kalenji* and *palle* nuts; the children of Budyanta complain to Budyanta; he snatches the nuts from the warriors and makes them to carry the nuts to his house; he hides the *palle*	A fight breaks out between Koti and Chennaya and the children of Budyanta over a game of palle pai mudi and kalenjida kuruntu; Budyanta intervenes and snatches the packs of the nuts from the warriors and keeps them in the attic of his house. The warriors tell	Intervening in the fight, Budyanta steals the ball, *palle pai mudi* and *kalenjida kuruntu* from Koti and Chennaya and hides them in the bath shed of his house; the warriors tell Budyanta, 'Today we may be the young water-snakes; but one day we will become young	A fight breaks out between Koti and Chennaya and children of Budyanta over a game of *palle pai mudi* and *kalenjida kuruntu*; the children of Budyanta lose the game; they take away by force the play things and give them to Budyanta; he keeps them in the

safely; we will take them back when we grow up.'	*pai mudi* (a round pack of *palle* seeds) and *kûtâyi kalenji* (a pack of *kalenji* nuts) in the attic of his house	Budyanta, 'Keep them safely in the attic of your house; now we are young, we will grow up one day; we will take back the packs in these very hands'	snakes of the anthill'	attic of his house; the warriors tell Budyanta, 'Today we may the young water-snakes; we will become the young snakes of the anthill one day'
The upper *kambula* field of the Anilaje field is of Budyanta and the lower *kambula* field, of Koti and Chennaya	The upper *kambula* field of the Anilaje field is of Budyanta and the lower *kambula* field, of Koti and Chennaya	The upper kambula field (mittōdi) of the Anilaje field is of Budyanta and the lower kambula field (tirtōdi), of Koti and Chennaya	The upper *kambula* field of the Anilaje field is of Budyanta and the lower *kambula* field, of Koti and Chennaya	The upper *kambula* field of the Anilaje field is of Budyanta and the lower *kambula* field, of Koti and Chennaya
To remove the ugly look from their faces and invest their faces with good look (for the first shave), Isara Kambi, a barber, from Ijānagara is called				To remove the ugly look from their faces and invest their faces with good look (for the first shave), The warriors are taken to the Bantwal town
Budyanta shows his antipathy towards Koti and Chennaya by destroying their crop; hence they kill him and bury his body in the ridge of the field breached by him; decorate his spade with his	The warriors kill Budyanta; remove his dress; straighten the body and cover it with mud; decorate the spade with his dress	The warriors kill Budyanta, remove his dress, straighten the body and cover it with mud; decorate on the platform the spade with his dress	The warriors kill Budyanta, remove his dress, straighten the body, cover it with mud; decorate his spade with his dress and keep it on the Padma platform; mock the dead	The warriors kill Budyanta, straighten his body and cover it with mud; they lay his spade on the ground and cover it with a sheet of white cloth

dress and keep it on the Padma platform			Budyanta, 'Be a strict guard for the *kambula* field of Kannatta Kalaya'	
The warriors go to the manor house and remind Ballala of the promise he had given to their mother; they demand one of the following: the *bākimar* field of the manor house, a high breed buffalo, a jackfruit tree that produces soft and hard jackfruits, the flower garden of the royal ladies of the manor; he refuses their demand; they impose a boycott on the manor house and storm out	The warriors inform the Ballala that they had killed Budyanta; he tells them, 'Would the persons who have killed Budyanta, spare me?' They get angry at his comment; impose a boycott on the manor house and storm out of the manor house; as they go, seven stone slabs of the step of the Gundetti Mar, break down.		Wife of Budyanta complains to Ballala that the warriors have killed her husband; when he asks about the killing, they remind him of the promise he had made to their mother; he gives them he-buffaloes to plough the fields; a cow to provide them with milk and a she-buffalo to make curds; however, touching the main pillar of the manor house, they impose a boycott on the manor house and storm out	The warriors go to the manor house and remind Ballala of the promise he had given to their mother; they demand one of the following: the *bākimar* field, *badibettu- timâr,* the red coconut tree of the Padma platform, the jackfruit tree that produces hard and soft fruits throughout the year, the flower garden of the women of the royal household; he refuses to part with any; touching the throne of the manor house, they impose a boycott on the manor house and storm out
They go to the house of the village carpenter, demand the plough they had told him to make;	The warriors demand from the carpenter and the washerman the things they were supposed to		The warriors demand from the carpenter, Sinkrachari, the washerman, Mapu, and the	When the carpenter, Badagi, the washerman, Mapu, and the pot-maker, Babbu refuse the things

he does not give and they kill him; they go to the house of the washerman and demand the clothes they had given for washing; he does not give and they kill him	return; when they refuse, the warriors kill them		pot-maker Babbu, the things they were supposed to give to the warriors; when they refuse, the warriors torture them and kill them	they were supposed to give to the warriors, the warriors kill them
When the toll-collector, Dere demands toll from the warriors, they refuse to pay the toll and drag him out of the toll-collection platform and kill him	There is no mention of the tollcollector, Dere		When the toll-collector, Dere does not allow the warriors to cross the road at the toll-booth, they kill him	There is no reference to Dere demanding toll from the warriors
A Brahmin, who supplies drinking water to the travellers seated on a platform (*darmakatte*) asks the caste of the warriors before he is ready to give them water; they tell him to pour water on their swords and they drink water poured on their swords; he makes predictions about their onward journey			A Brahmin, who supplies drinking water to the travellers seated on a platform (*darmakatte*) asks the caste of the warriors before he is ready to give them water; he refuses to give them water in a vessel; they tell him to pour water on their swords; they keep the points of their swords in their mouths and drink water poured on	When the toll-collector, Dere does not give them water in a pot at the toll-collection platform, they keep the points of their swords in their mouths and tell Dere to pour water on the swords; the hands of Dere tremble; they get angry, drag him out of the platform and kill him

			the swords; he makes predictions about their onward journey	
The seller of nuts, Kantakka informs The warriors that some people are hiding in the forest of stone-berries to capture them				
To capture the warriors, traps are laid in the trees and on the land; the Koragas of Koppa, the Mugeras of Oni and the Bakudas of the Bali are awaiting to capture them; Chennaya toss a *nelli* fruit (Indian gooseberry) by the tip of his sword and pulverizes it; seeing this feat, Koragas, Mugeras and Bakudas accept their defeat; the warriors accept them as their agrestic serfs				
The warriors engage in funny talks and riddles	The warriors invite the cowherds for a		The warriors engage in funny talks and riddles	A thousand children are playing; the

with the cowherds grazing cattle in the Panja meadow (*padavu*): 'A he-buffalo in your herd has delivered and it is licking the calf.' The cowherds reply: 'The sea in the west has caught fire; it is not that the he-buffalo is licking the calf; it has defecated and is sniffing the dung.' The warriors ask the direction to proceed to their destination	game of riddles: 'See children, Chenna Mangala has delivered and it is licking the calf.' The cowherds reply: 'See warriors, The sea on the west has caught fire and it is burning; a fox is catching fish by its tail and eating the fish.' Chennaya gets angry, chases them and defeats them		with the cowherds grazing cattle: 'A he-buffalo in your herd has delivered and it is licking the calf.' The cowherds reply, 'Warriors, look at the country from where you have come; it is burning as it has caught; a fox is trying to douse the fire with its tail using the leaves of the *sarōli* plant; an eagle is dousing the fire by dropping water with its wings; because of the fire, mackerels from the sea are fried and the fried mackerels are struck in the sky.' Chennaya gets angry, beats them and then asks the direction to proceed to their destination	warriors engage them in a game of riddles; the warriors tell the children, "A he-buffalo in your herd has delivered and it is licking the calf.' The children go around the herd and then reply; 'A he-buffalo has defecated and it is piling up earth on the dung with its leg, and another he-buffalo is sniffing at the dung. 'Warriors look, the seven seas of a country on the west are on fire; a fox is trying to douse the fire with its tail using the leaves of the *sarôli* plant.' Chennaya gets angry, chases and, beats them; the children become frightened; then the warriors ask the direction to proceed to their destination
The warriors ask direction to the house of Payya Baidya; when they reach his	The warriors make an offering to the Bermer of Panja; then they inquire about the		The warriors are on look out for the house of Payya Baidya of Palli; when they	The warriors make enquiries about the house of Payya Baidya; they meet their

house, he is not at home; he has gone to Sankamale hill to tap toddy from toddy and wild date palms (*īchal*); they meet their sister, Kinnidaru	direction to the house of Kinnidaru; on seeing them, the toddy tapper, Kujumba Kanja, becomes scared and runs away		find the house, they introduce themselves to Kinnidaru, their elder sister; Payya Baidya had gone to Sankamale to tap toddy; he is one of those who was with the enemy group; when he sees them, out of fear, he runs away	elder sister, Kinnidaru; when Payya Baidya returns after toddy tapping he sees them, runs out by an inner door; he is one of those who had gone to capture the warriors
Payya accompanies his brothers-in-law to the Per Permude Garadi of Panja; Chandigidi hides in the garadi like a lizard; to determine whose is more proficient in gymnastics, a contest takes place between the warriors and Chandugidi			Payya makes the warriors to stay in his house and he goes and informs Chandugidi whereabouts of the warriors; then they meet Chandugidi; he hides like a lizard; to determine whose is more proficient in gymnastics, a contest takes place between the warriors and Chandugidi	
When the warriors go to the veranda of Kemara Ballala, he does not meet them in the veranda; he hides in the upper	When the warriors are walking in the Panja village, Chandugidi sees them; Pallengi Pergade ties them in the *dindu*			Kemara Ballala pretends to welcome the warriors; but deceitfully captures them with the help of Chandugidi; they

storey of his manor house; he receive a letter from Parmale Ballala to capture them; he imprisons them in Mundu Malya; they escape by the grace of Bermer	*sankôle* (a heavy chain) and imprisons them in Gundu Malya; they pledge an offering to Bermer and escape			say a prayer to Bermer and escape
After escaping from the prison, the warriors set out to go to Edamburu; on the way they find that the Ballalal of Panja had encroached on the land of Edumburu by shifting the boundary stone; they position the boundary stone in its original place; Kinni Chennaya comes to take them to the Edumburu manor house; they see a structure at a distance and they ask him: 'Is it a Byari Palli? A church (of *kudumba i.e.*, Christians)? A temple of Jains (*Setti Basadi*)? Devare *mādōo*				As they try to come out of the prison, the Panja manor collapses; an elephant is sent to capture them; on seeing the swords of the warriors, the elephant retreats; Chandugidi confronts them; since he is not able to fight with them, he shoots an arrow at them; the arrow hits the left leg of Chennaya; he kicks the arrow; it hits Chandugidi on his chest and he dies

(shrine of a folk deity)? A *Bermere Singadanao* (an altar of Bermer)?'				
Leaving Kinni Chennaya behind, they cross a *nēlapāpu* (a wooden hanging bridge), holding onto a *nûl kaisāng* (a rope for support) and go to make an offering to Bermer; when they reach the shrine, the priest has completed the worship of the folk deity for the day; they pray: 'We are your faithful servants (*ōlagada banter*); let the closed door of the shrine open; let the eternal lamp light and let the necessary worship begin.' The worship begins and they make the offering; and curse the Brahmin	After they escape from Dindu Sankole Gundu Malya, they go to the shrine of Kempu Kepulaje Bermer and make an offering at the feet of Bermer and offer prayer to the deity that he should be their protector			Kemara Ballala writes a letter to Parmale Ballala asking him how to capture the warriors stealthily; Parmale Ballala comes to Panja with a plan
Enmur Ballala welcomes the warriors to his tiny state (*sīme*), and requests	As the warriors go by the Panja village, Enmur Ballala sends his people to bring			The warriors stay at Ekkadka of Eriyangala Manor

them to stay in his kingdom; he asks them, 'Would you like to stay in Berampalli of Brahmins? In Guttu Barke of Bunts? Or in Nattilla Nālaje of Billavas?' The warriors reply that they would prefer a separate place—a barren place with full of weeds (*tumbe nekki*)	them to his tiny kingdom and makes arrangement for their stay in his kingdom			
The warriors go hunting and kill a wild boar; for the sin of killing the boar they apply oil on their persons and take bath	When the warriors are under the protection of Enmur Ballala, they go hunting; Chennaya shoots a wild boar with an arrow; the wild boar runs and falls dead on the border of Panja and Enmur; this leads to a fight between Pallengi Pergade of Panja and the people of Enmur; the warriors drag the boar to the Enmur manor house			The warriors they go hunting and kill a wild boar; Chennaya revives the dead boar by sprinkling water from the sprout of a water vessel; it runs away and falls dead near Manjal Pâde; the people of Panja try to claim the dead boar; Chennaya drags it to Manjal Pâde
The Ballala of Panja gets angry; he feels that the				The dispute over hunting a wild boar breeds

dead boar belongs to Panja; he sends a letter to the Ballala of Enmur, 'Return the dead boar to Panja, or be prepared for a battle; if you cannot fight, remove the dress you are wearing; dress like a woman: put on breasts of coconut shells; wear a blouse; slip many bangles on your hands; tie your hair into a knot; and apply lines of collyrium; we will come to your veranda to see a girl (for our boy)'				enmity; the Ballala of Panja challenges the Ballala of Enmur for a battle; he mocks the Ballala of Enmur, 'If you do not respond to our challenge, put on the dress of a female; wear a sari and sweep the inner door with a broom'
The warriors exhibit their strength in front of Enmur Ballala and convey to him that they are ready for the battle; and the Ballala requests the warriors to protect his kingdom			Fighting is going on between Koti and Kemara Ballala when Parmale Ballala comes, with his army, to join Kemara Ballala: Parmale Ballala shoots Koti with an arrow from a hinding; Koti asks Parmale Ballala from where he has acquired this kind of education	When the Ballala of Panja challenges Enmur Ballala for a fight, the warriors (Koti and Chennaya) tell Enmur Ballala that they are ready for the battle; they seek the blessings of their uncle Sayana and tell him that if they have luck they might return

The arrow shot by Chandugidi hits the heel of Chennaya; Chennaya throws it back; it pierces the chest of Chandugidi and he dies; the injured Chennaya is taken away for treatment	The warriors are forced to fight separately from two places; at that time Koti tells Chennaya, 'If I die before you do, I will crow as a white crow, sitting on the cross bar of the well of Panja; if you die before I do, you do the same.' Chandugidi, deceitfully shoots Koti at his leg; the injured Koti is carried to the veranda of Enmur manor house for treatment			
After the battle, when Koti is resting, Bermer permits a potter to take away the sword of Koti; however Bermer does not allow the potter to enter the court-yard; in the meantime, Chennaya reaches the place where Koti lay dead; he sees the dead body of his elder brother, dashes his head against a stone and dies	At the same time, Chennaya arrives; a washerman, crows as a white crow, sitting on the cross bar of a well; Chennaya notices the crow and thinks that Koti is dead; he dashes his head against a stone and dies; Koti, recovers and comes to the place where Chennaya lay dead; sees the white crow and dashes his head against a stone and dies			

Appendix 2
A list of published works on Koti Chennaya

Author	Year	Pāḍdana	Story	Drama	Poem	Novel	Yakshagana	Review
Manner A.	1886	Pāḍdanolu						
A.C. Burnell	1894-97	Koti Chennaya						The Devil Worhip of the Tuluvas
Panje Mangeshrao	1930		Koti Chennaya					
Mangalore Jarappa	1930				Koti Chennaya Padyamalike			
B.A. Saletore	1936							Ancient KamatakaHistory of Tuluva
Arnold Balke	1938	Koti Chennaya						
Pandubettu Venkatarao	1938						Baidarkala Pratapa	
Shivarama Kamath	1934							Chitramaya Dakshina Kannada

Ullala Mangeshrao	1939				Koti Chennaya			
S. R. Furtado	1954							Bhuta worship in South Kanara
B. Shnakara Bhat / B.M. Sharma	1956							Panjeyavara Nenapigāgi
Sheenappa Heggade	1958		Bantara Sandhi					
K. Venkatacharya	1961		Janapada Kathegalu					
N.S. Prabhu	1967		Koti Chennaya					
K.K. Poojary	1967					Vîra Sahodararu Koti Chennaya		
Vishukumar	1970			Koti Chennaya				
Bannanje Babu Amin	1971						Vîra Koti Chennaya	

							(with meaning)	
Padmanabha Somayaji	1971		Koti Chennayara kathe					
Rasika Puttige	1974		Koti Chennaya					
Sanjeeva Prabu	1974							Special study Report on Bhuta cult in South Kanara
Kakamani	1975		Koti Chennaya					
Kanaradi Vadiraja Bhat	1975							Pāḍdanagalu ondu Adhyayana
P. Gururaja Bhat	1975							The Studies in Tuluva History and Culture
Kaitanje Narasimha Bhat	1977				Tulunada Kaligalu Koti Chennaya			

Dumappa Master	1977				Tulunada vīrer Koti Chennayer kathe Tulupada			
Venkataraja Puninchattaya	1978		Vīraru Thulida Nele					
Mariappa Bhat	1978							Tulu Bhashe
Seetanadhi Ganapayya	1978			Koti Chennaya				
Amritha Someswar	1981							Avilu
Valentina Stache Rosen	1982							Bhuta and Teyyams
Leela Bhat	1982							Bhuta Nāgara Naduve
A.V. Navada	1984							Karnataka Janapada Sameekshe
Bannanje Babu Amin	1982		Koti Chennaya					

Amritha Someswar	1985							Tulu Baduku
D. P. Patta Nayak / Peter J. Claus	1985							Indian Folklore
B.A. Vivek Rai	1986							Tulu Janapada Sahitya
Chinnappa Gowda, K.	1987							Jalata
U. P. Upadhyaya	1987							Folk Epics of Tulunad
Amritha Someswar	1987			Koti Chennaya				
Shivara Shishila	1987			Koti Chennaya				
Peter J. Claus	1987							Tuluva Darshana
Mohan Kotian / B. N. Harish	1987							Tulu Ithihasada Smaraka Enmur Adi Baidarkala Garodi

Vamana Nandavara	1987							Tuluvera Kusal / Singadana
Yerya Laxminarayana Alva	1987							Mangala Thimaru (Koti Chennaya Kanjera Chitra Kannada Janapada Kelavu Mukhagalu Janapada Jagattu (Chitra) Tulu Rajya (Chitra) Bombayiyalli Nadeda Baiderle Nçma (Chitra Lekhana)
Satyanatha T. S.	1988							
R. S. Naidu	1988							
Manjunatha	1988							
Girish Kalyanapura	1989							

Susheela P. Upadyaya	1989							Janapada Aradhane Mattu Rangakale
K. M. Rajagoplala	1989							Tuluvara Acharaneyalli kalavanthike
R.R.C.	1989	Koti Chennaya						
Karnataka Kala Kendra	1990	Bantere Sandi						
Chinnappa Gowda K.	1990							Bhutaradhane Janapadiya Adhyayana
Peter J. Claus	1991							Perspective on Dakshina Kannada and Kodagu
Bannanje Babu Amin / Mohan Kotian	1991							Tulunada Garodigala Adhyayana
Anantharama Bangadi	1988						Pattada Perumale	

K. C. Patali	1989		Shri Padumale Kshetra Darshana					
R. R. C.	1991		Koti Chennaya					
A. Balakrishna Shetty Polali	1991		Koti Chennaya					
Vamana Nandavara	1992							Janapada Suttamutta
B. A. Vivek Rai	1993							Flags of Flame
Subbabba Rai	1994							Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Aitihyagalu
Yanjnavathi K. Kangan	1994		Samskritika Tulunadu					
Mohan Kotian / Damodar Kalmady	1995							KotiChennaya Maukhika Sahityada Antaratma Darshana

Anantaramu K.	1997							Dakshinada Sirinadu
Ganesh Amin Sukumar						Amar Birer Koti Chennayer		
Amritha Someswar	1997							Pāḍdana Samputa
Abhaya Kumar	1997							Mugeraru Jananga Janapada Adhyayana
Damodar Kalmady / Cheluvaraja Perampalli	1998							Janamanasadalli Koti hennayaru
Vamana Nandavara	1998		Koti Chennaya					
Shiva Billava	1998		Legendary Twins Koti Chennaya					
Lauri Honko	1998							Textualizing Siri Epic
Muddu Moodubelle	1999							Puvari
Amritha Someswar	1999							Koti Chennaya

Appendix 3

***Pāḍḍanas* texts collected during the possession ritual:**

Singer / s	**Year**	**Name of the Pāḍḍana**	**Context**
Annu Parava	Sung on 16 – 03 – 1991 beginning at about 3.30 AM	Kodamanttaya Pāḍḍana	*Kōla* festival of Kodamanttaya and Baiderlu, Karinje
Annu Parava	Sung on 19 - 05 – 1987 beginning at about 10.00 PM	Parmale Ballala Pāḍḍana and Jodu Bhuta Pāḍḍana	*Kōla* festival of Jodu Bhuta / Nayar Bhuta, Mitturu
Kariya Parava	Sung on 27 – 03 – 1992 beginning at about 11.00 PM	Panjurli Pāḍḍana and Anke Ummaya Pāḍḍana	*Kōla* festival of Anke Ummaya, Andinje
Kunji Parava	Sung on 19 – 10 – 1993 beginning at about 11.00 PM	Kenjava Pakkile Pāḍḍana	*Kōla* festival of Kinnimani Pumani of Parmale and *kôla* festival of Malaraya
Koragappa Poojary	Sung on 28- 01 – 1989	Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana	At the request of the author (Vamana Nandavara)
Girija and Lalitha	Sung on 28 – 02 – 1991 beginning at about 2.30 AM	Mayandal Pāḍḍana	*Kōla* festival of Baiderlu, Shirtadi
Chennappa Bangera	Sung on 10 – 05 – 1991 beginning at about 8.30 AM	Arasu Manjishnara Pāḍḍana	*Kōla* festival of Arasu Manjishnar Megye, Udyavara
Dangu Panara	Sung 07 – 06 - 1989	Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana	At the request of the author (Vamana Nandavara)
Nakra Parava and Kitta Parava	Sung on 08 – 03 – 1990 beginning at about 5.00AM	Bermere Bira, Baidyerle Bira, Kujumba Kanja Sandi	*Kōla* festival of Baidyerlu, Thingale Garodi
Naranga Parava and Challa Parava	Sung on 28 – 02 - 1990	Koti Chennaya Pāḍḍana & Bermere	*Agel* ceremony and *kōla* festival of

		Bira	Pandya Garodi and *kōla* festival of Kudi Garodi
Devu Parava and Babu Parava			Sung on 03 – 04 – 1990, 24 – 03 – 1991, *agel* and *kōla* festival of Pangala Garodi; sung on 03 – 03 – 1990, festival of Bolche Garodi; sung on 06 – 04 – 1990, Ena Gudde Garodi festival; sung on 08 – 05 – 1990, *agel* ceremony at Kidiyoor Garodi
Fakira Poojary	Sung on 20 – 10 - 1989	Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana	While tapping toddy at Jogibettu of Vitle
Veerappa Poojary		Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana	Sung during the free time
Poovappa Parava	Sung on 05 – 03 – 1991 beginning at about 4.30 PM	Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana Kujumba Kanja Sandi	Didimbiri Garodi *kōla* festival
Pijina Nalke	Sung on 18 – 10 - 1990	Kalkuda Kallurti Pāḍdana	At the request of the author (Vamana Nandavara)
Babu Parava		Bermere Bira, Baidyerle Bira, Kujumba Kanja Sandi	Sung on 12 – 02 – 1990, during the Edapadavu Garodi festival; sung during the Parpunja Garodi festival on 15 – 03 – 1990; sung during the Naravi Garodi festival on 01 – 05 – 1990; sung during the Poyya Podikall Garodi festival on 03 – 01 – 1001;

			sung during the Shirthadi Garodi festival on 28 – 02 – 1991; sung during the Panja Garodi festival on 17 – 03 - 1992
Boggu Parava and Thimmu Parava	Sung on 01 – 04 - 1990	Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, Baidyerle Bira	Manibettu Garodi *kōla* festival
Monte Gowda and Irappa Gowda	1989	Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana; Baidyerle Pāḍdana sung at the Purusha Veesha performance (duration around 24 hours)	At the request of the author (Vamana Nandavara)
Ramakka Poojarthi	1992	Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana, Kujumba Kanja Pāḍdana, Siri Pāḍdana, Abbaga Daraga Pāḍdana	At the request of the author (Vamana Nandavara)
Rudrappa Parava and Kariya Parava	Sung on 09 – 04 - 1990	Bermere Bira, Baiderle Bira, Kujumba Kanja Sandi	Enmur Garodi *kōla* festival
Seethu Gujaran and Kookra Bangera	Sung on 26 – 07 - 1992	Kanthabare Budabare Pāḍdana	At the request of the author (Vamana Nandavara)

Glossary

agel	a ritual in which cooked food is offered to the dead members of the family; it is a non-Brahmin form of ancestral worship; the food offered may be vegetarian or non-vegetarian; as a part of the annual nema festival of Koti Chennaya, there is the agel ritual in some of the garodis; the ritual takes on the first day of the nema festival, in the night; vegetarian food is offered Baiderlu; animal sacrifice or non-vegetarian food is not allowed in the garodi
ajal	Tulu Lexicon defines ajal as, 'Jurisdiction of one's occupation, service in shrines and other ceremonies'. It was a system in which certain families belonging to specific communities were required to render fixed services at the various social and religious functions of the village. It was a hereditary system. The members rendering services were paid in kind. The system is similar to the Jajmani system.
ajokl	a wooden stand with cross bars and pegs to keep clothes
angula	a measurement of length; one angula is one and a quarter (I¼) inches, measured with the breadth of the index and the middle finger held together.
Bariya / gariya	on the second day of the annual nema festival of Baiderlu, two human-shaped figures are made outside the Bermere Gunda (the sanctum sanctorum of a garodi) from fresh mango, holy fig (ashvatta), and jackfruit leaves; the leaves are piled up and the piles wrapped in white sheet of cloths; and then piles are covered with peels of banana stems; the figures represent Koti and Chennaya. Setting up of bariya symbolizes funeral rites
Baiderlu or Baider	Koti and Chennaya (and Kujumba Kanja) are respectfully called Baiderlu; their shrine is a Baiderle Garodi; in the ritual context, Koti and Chennaya are not called by their names; they are called Baiderlu. Such a respectful appellation is used in the case of Muggerlu deities as well.
bakimar field	a vast paddy field situated in front of the house of a landlord, or guttu
bhuta / buta	'Spirit worshipped in Tulunadu; protective deity. (Totemic spirits, departed cultural heroes and divine spirits of puranic origin are deified and worshipped; an evil spirit.' (Tulu Lexicon) According to Kittel, bhuta is a goblin, demon, or a ghost. (1899: reprint, 2004) The Tulu term buta defies proper definition. Perhaps you could use the Vedic method, 'not this, not this' to explain the term. A buta is not a devil, not an evil spirit, not a ghost, not a Brahman divinity. A buta is deified or apotheosised human beings and animals; their worship was entirely a non-Brahmin mode of worship officiated by non-Brahmin priests, once upon a time. Some butas are aggressive, ferocious divinities; and they are generally called butas; and some of them are relatively gracious and mild; they came to be called daivas. You do not find a clear-cut distinction between a buta and a daiva. Some of the apotheosised human beings they are addressed Baiderlu or Muggerlu. Butas are folk deities or local deities; they are not Pan-Hindu deities (Brahma, Vishnu, Ishvara and their consorts—the Great Tradition); butas belong to the 'Little Tradition'.

chendḍbulya	chendlya is presentation of areca nuts, betel leaves and sandalwood paste to the Bhuta dancer. This ritual is a symbolic permission accorded to the bhuta performer to adorn himself with the costumes and ornaments of the folk deity.
chenne mane game	an indoor game played with gurgunji seeds (a kind of wild scarlet, black, white seeds) on a wooden board
eṇṇe bulya	presenting areca nuts, betel leaves, and oil to the bhuta performers requesting them to impersonate the folk deities at a kola festival; it is an initial ritual at a kola festival
garadi	was a gymnasium teaching wrestling and combat skills; in modern times the term garodi is used to describe the shrines / temples of Koti Chennaya—Brahma Baiderle garodi
garodi mane	a specific Billava household assigned to render basic religious services in a garodi such as opening the garodi on specific days; receiving offerings, and performing worship. In the older times, the households that ran gymnasiums were called garadi mane.
gejetti / gejjetti	a small sickle with tiny bells made of iron or silver. It is given to the bride at the time of her wedding. This small instrument is supposed to possess magical powers and regarded as a sort of protective shield to protect the mother and her baby. (Cf. Peter J. Claus: 1979) In olden days, this sickle used to be kept under the cradle, supposedly to protect the child. In the traditional Tulunadu, there were special sickles: Gejjetti, tarkatti (the sickle used for toddy tapping) and parkatti (used for harvesting paddy).
guttu barke	the term guttu-barke consists of two terms: guttu and barke. A guttu was (is) a traditional household of a landlord that enjoyed political power in the village; the head of a guttu was a guttinar and he was assigned the responsibility of collecting land revenue from the village or villages under his control; he also functioned as village head; a barke was (is) a traditional prominent Billava household that enjoyed a certain measure of power in the village; and the head of a barke was / is a gurkare or a bonṭra.
kaidambe	a semi-circular device, a spout, made from an areca or a Palmyra tree; it was used to serve water to lower caste persons; and the person held it in his hand and water was poured on it.
kallakalembi	the expression kalla kalembi occurs in many pāḍḍanas; literally it refers to a large box made of stone; probably it was a wooden box, in which important things were kept, and it was also used as a piece of furniture to sit and sleep.
kanchil	an offering made on behalf of a child; the child making the offering puts on bridal dress, he or she is seated on the parapet of the shrine of the folk deity at the time of the festival of the deity; a lighted standing lamp is kept near the child; and fruits and flowers are placed in front of the child on a platter.
kola and nema	kola is the general term used to describe a dazzling propitiatory, or possession ritual of folk deities, viz., bhutas and daivas. The term nema is applied to the propitiatory ritual of the so-called royal folk deities and the festivals of the spirits of the dead hero and heroines of Tulu folklore. But, there is no clear-cut distinction between the terms; and generally, the term kola is used to describe

	the festivals of all the folk deities.
muḍi	a traditional measurement of grains; a muḍi measured 42 seers or 39 kg of grain; muḍi also refers to an oval-shaped artistic pack of grains, especially the packs of rice and paddy; the pack used to be prepared using hay and ropes made from dry paddy stalks; now plastic bags are used to pack grains.
muḍipu	in most of the Tuluva households, there is a box, a case, or a chest that is hung on the beam of the house; it is taken out once in a year, on the day of the Festival of Light; after worshipping the basil plant, some coins are put in the chest and it is closed. When the chest is full, it is carried to the Tirupati temple and the contents are dropped into the hunḍi of the temple.
muḷa	a measure from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger; about seventeen inches
paḍiyari	giving rice to Bhuta performers as a token of entrusting them the responsibility performing a ritual, like, impersonating the folk deities at a kola or nema ceremony
palle	a flat, spherical and sufficiently large piece of stone used to hammer the spathes of the palm trees to draw toddy; it also refers to a flat, spherical wild seed used by children to
pāḍḍana	a Tulu folk song that narrates the birth, development, heroism, and diffusion of a folk deity; it is a religious song sung at the time of certain rituals and ceremonies of the folk deities; there are professional paḍḍana singers who sing the paḍḍana at the time of the possession ritual of a folk deity; some of these oral legends take many hours, perhaps 24 hours, to sing the entire song; such songs are folk epics; Koti Chennaya Paḍḍana and Siri Paḍḍana are oral epics of Tulunadu. Koti Chennaya Paḍḍana is also called Banṭere Sandi.
prasada	holy things distributed to the devotees after a religious ceremony: flowers, vermillion, sandalwood paste, rice grains, pulses, banana or sweet dish etc.
purusharthas	four goals of life: upholding dharma (righteousness); seeking artha (wealth); seeking kama (enjoyment / sexual pleasure); and attaining liberation / salvation (moksha).
rajya	(a kingdom), sime (a province), magane (a village) and uru (a settlement) were the traditional political and administrative units of Tulunadu.
singadana	a decorated seat of three compartments or steps set for keeping the idol, mask and other objects of worship at a buta ritual
tambila	a food offering ritual in which folk deities including the serpent (naga) are worshipped and offered food.
tarkatti	a special type of sickle used by toddy tappers to prune spathes.
tavu	tavu is a place of worship of Baiderlu where there is no garoḍi structure; some stones symbolize Brahma Baiderlu; in a tavu the nema ceremony does not take place annually whereas in a garoḍi the nema ceremony takes place every year.
tembere	a basic percussion instrument used by professional pāḍḍana singers; it is a small drum; the beating of the drum sets the tone and the singer sings to the beat of the tembere.

Bibliography

English

Balakrishnan, P. 1995. Kalari Payattu, the Ancient Martial Art of Kerala. Sri Govinda Kutty Nair Gurukul, C. V. N. Kalari, Fort Trivendrum

Bascom, William. 1981. Contributions to Folkloristics. Archana Publication, 286 Chanakya, Sadar Meerut – 250 001

Bhat, Gururaja P. 1975. Studies in Tuluva History and Culture. Milagres College, Kalyanpura, Udupi

Blackburn: 1988. Singing of Birth and Death: Text and Performance. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Blackburn et al 1989. The Oral Epics in India. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles

Brenda Beck, E. F. 1982. The Three Twins: The Telling of South Indian Folk Epic. Indiana University Press, Bloomington

Burnell, A. C. 1894 – 97. The Devil Worship of the Tuluvas, Indian Antiquary Vol. XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI

Burrow, T. and Emeneau, M. B. 1961. A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary. Charndon Press, Oxford

Caldwell, Robert. 1856. A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian of Languages. University of Madras

Claus Peter J. and Korom, FranK J. 1991. Folkloristics and Indian Folklore. Regional Resources Centre for Folk Performing Arts, M. G. M. College, Udupi

Claus Peter J. 1973. Possession, Protection and Punishment as Attributes of Deities in a South Indian Village, in Man in India, Vol. 53, 3)

_____. 1975 a. The Siri Myth and Ritual: A Mass Possession Cult of South India in Ethnology Vol. XIV No. 1

_____. 1975 b. Terminological Aspects of Tulu Kinship: Kin Terms, Kin Sets and Kin Groups of the Matrilineal Castes, in American Studies in the Anthropology of India

_____. 1978 a. Heroes and Heroines in the Conceptual Framework of Tulu Culture in Journal of Indian Folklorists

_____. 1978 b. Oral Traditions, Royal Cults and Materials for a Reconsideration of the Caste System in South India in Journal of Indian Folklorists, (January- June)

_____. 1979 a. Spirit Possession and Spirit Mediumship from the Perspective of Tulu Oral Traditions, in Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry, D. Reidel Publishing Co

_____. 1979 b. Mayandala: A Legend and Possession Cult of Tulunad. Asian Folklore Studies XXXVIII:2

_____. 1986. Playing Cenne: The Meanings of a Folk Game. In Black Burn and Ramanujan

_____. 1987. Future Research in Tulu Culture. Regional Resources Centre for Performing Arts, M. G. M. College

_____. 1991. Tulu Paddanas: Text and Performance, Perspective on Dakshina Kannada and Kodagu. Mangalore in University Decennial Volume, Mangalagangothri

De Vris Jan. 1963. Heroic Song and Heroic Legend. Translation, B. T. Thimmer. University Press, London and Oxford

Frazer, James George. 1911/1890. The Golden Bough. London, Macmillan

Furtado, S. R. 1950. Bhutha (Demon) Worship in South India and its Effect on the Life and Religion of the People. Government College, Mangalore. (unpublished)

Gowda, Chinnappa K. 2005. The Mask and the Message. Madipu Prakashana, Mangalagangothri.

Heinrich Zimmer. 1990. Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization. Motilal Banarasidasam, Delhi

Honko Lauri. 1990. The Kalevala and World's Epics: An Introduction to Religion, Myth and Folklore (ed.) in the World's Epics. Mouton De Gruyter, Berlin, New York

_____. 1998. Textualising the Siri Epic. F. F. Communications, Helsinki.

Hato, A. T. (ed). 1980. Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization. Motilal Banarasidasam, Delhi

Jason, Heda. 1977. Ethnopoetry Form, Content, Function. Bonn Linguistica Bibtica

Kurup, K.K.N. 1973. The Cult of Teyyam and Hero Worship in Kerala. Indian Publication. Calcutta

Kosambi, D.D. 1962. Myth and Reality. Popular Publication, Bombay

Lonnrot, Elias. 1840. Kanteletar Taikka Suomen Kansan Vanboja Lauluji, Javirsia 1 – iii

Malinowski Bronishaw. 1926. Crime and Customs in Savage Society. Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden City, New York

Martha Aston. 1976. In the Souvenir published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mangalore

Oinas Felix J. 1972. In Folklore and Folk Life. Richard M. Dorson (ed). University of _____. 1985. Studies in Finnic Folklore. Mantan Kiriapaino og Mantta.

Parry Milman and Lord Albert. 1960. Oral Formulaic Theory: The Singer of the Tale. New York, Althenaeun

Propp Vladimir. 1984. Kalevala Kansanrunouden Valossa, in Kalevalaseuram Vuosokirjna, 64, Pieksamaki

Prabhu, Sanjeeva and Padmanabha, N. 1971. Special Study Report on Bhuta Cult, Series14, Director of Census Operation, Mysore

Raglan, F. R. R. S. : 1936. The Hero, A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama. Metheum and co., London

Rai, Vivek, B.A. 1986. Paddanas as Folk Epics, in Epics of Tulunad. U. P. Upadhyaya (ed). R.R.C., M.G.M. College, Udupi – 576 102.

_____. 1993. The Genres of Tulu Folk Poetry in, An Introduction in the Flags of

Fame. Heidrun Bruckner (ed), Lothar Lutze and Aditya Malik Manohar, Publishers and Distributors, 216 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi

Rene Gothoni and Juha Pentukainen. 1987. Monastic Life on Mount Athos -- a

Reflection of Mythology and Order. Rene Gothoni and Juha Pentukainen (ed). Suomalaizen Kirjallisuuden Sewra, Helsinki

Saletore, B.A. 1936, Ancient Karnataka History of Tuluva. Oriental Book Agency,

Shiva Billava. 1998. Legendary Twins – Koti Chennaya. Guru Bharati Adhyayana Kendra, II Nana Bai Lane, Fort Mumbai

Upadhyaya, U.P. 1986. Folk Epics of Tulunad. R.R.C., M.G.M. College, Udupi

Valentina Stache – Rosen. 1978. Bhutas and Teyyams: Spirit Worship and Ritual Dances in South Kanara and North Malabar, Texts and Photographs. Max Muller Bhavan,

Kannada/Tulu

Abhaya Kumar. 1992. Mugeraru – Jananga Janapada (Mugers– the Community and Folklore). Karnataka Tulu Academy, Muncipal Buliding, Mangalore – 575 003

Aigal, Ganapati Rao. 1923. Tulu Pāḍanoḷu (Tulu Folk Songs). Sharada Press, Mangalore

Alva, Rupakala. 1992. Nāṭi, Sandesha, Bajjoḍi. Mangalore: 575 005

Amin, Bannanje Babu. 1967. Vira Koti Chennaya (The Valorous Koti Chennaya). Yakshagana Kala Kshetra, Udupi

_____. 1982, 1992. Koti Chennaya. Shree Koti Chennaya Pusthaka Prakashana Samiti, Jangama Matha, Shiribidu, Udupi – 576 103

Amin, Bannanje Babu and Kotian, Mohan. 1990. Tulunada Garodigala Samskritika

Adhyayana (A Cultural Study on the Garodis of Tulunadu). Shree Brahma Baidarkala Samskritika Adhyayana Pratisthana, Adi Udupi, Udupi

Amin, Ganesh Sankamar. 1997. Amar Birer Koti Chennayar (The Twin Heroes – Koti Chennaya). Tulu Koota, Kudla, Nisarga, Maroli, Mangalore – 575 005

Amritha Someshwara. 1984. Tulu Baduku (Tulu Life). Prakrati Prakashana, Kotekar, Dakshina Kannada

_____. 1987. Koti Chennaya. Prakrati Prakashana, Kotekar, Dakshina Kannada – 574

_____. 1990. Munnudi (Preface), Tulunada Garodigala Samskritika Adhyayana (A Cultural Study on the Garodis of Tulunadu). Shree Brahma Baidarkala Samskritika Adhyayana Pratisthana, Adi Udupi, Udupi

_____. 1997. Paḍdana Samputa (A Collection of Pāḍdanas). Kannada Vishva Vidhyalaya, Hampi, Vidharanya – 583 221

Anantharamu K. 1997. Dakshinada Sirinadu (The Beautiful Land of the South). Ananta Prakshana, 414, Devamba Agrahara, Mysor -570 024

Bangadi, Anantharamu. 1988. Pattada Perumale (Perumale of the Throne). Nityananda Granthalaya, Hampanakatte, Mangalore

Benagal Ramarao and Panyam Sundara Shastri. 1941. Purana Nama Chudamani. Vishvavidyanilaya , Kannada Granthamale, Prasaranga, Mysore

Bhat, Gururaja. 1964. Tulunadu. K. Laxminarayana Bhat (ed). Bhavyavani, Padupete

Bhat, Kaitanje Narasimha. 1975. Tulunada Kaligaḷu Koti Chennaya (Koti Chennaya -- the Heroes of Tulunadu). Samira Prakashana Press Complex, Puttur – 574 202

Bhat, Kanaradi Vadiraja. 1974Pāḍdanagaḷu Ondu Adhyayana (A Study of Paḍdanas). Uga Purusha Prakatanalaya, Kinnigoli, Dakshina Kannada

Bhat, Leela. 1981. Bhutanagara Naduve (Amidst Serpent Deities), Prakrati Prakashana, Kotekar, Dakshina Kannada

Bhat, Manjunatha, M. 1974. Vedadalli Yavala Devategalu Ashvinaru (Twins Deities in the Vedas, Ashvine Deities) Souvenir, Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Mangalore

Bhat, B. Shankar and Sharma, B. M. 1952. Shri Panjeya Nenapinalli (In Memory of Shri Panje). Harsha Prakatanalaya, Puttur

Bilimale, Purushottama. 1990. Karavaḷi Janapada (Coastal Folklore). Mangalagangotri – 578

Chattopadhyaya, Devi Prasada. 1979. Lokayata. Peoples Publishing House, Bombay

Dumappa Master. 1975. Tulunada Virer Koti Chennayere Tulu Pada (A Tulu Poem on Koti Chennaya -- the Heroes of Tulunadu). Mannagudde, Mangalore

Gowda, Chinnappa. 1985. Jalata?. Chitana Vedike, S. D. M. College, Ujire, Dakshina

_____. 1990. Bhutaradhane – Janapadiya Adhyayana (Spirit Worship -- A Folkloristic Study). Madipu Prakashana, Mangala Gangotri, Dakshina Kannada – 574 199

Gowda, Javare. 1976. Nambikegalu: Janapada Adhyayana (Beliefs: A Folklorist Study). D. V. K. Murthy, Krishna Murthy Puram, Mysroe – 4

Gowda, Lakkappa, H. J. 1985. Pashchatyara Drastiyalli Mahakavya, Pashchatya Mahakavyagalu (Epics in the Eyes of the Westerners, Western Epics). Shrikantha Kodige (ed), Kannada Kendra, Postgraduate Centre, B. R. Project, Mysore University

Hampa Nagarajayya: 1976. Yaksha, Yakshi, Chandra. Sagaravarni Granthamale, 1079, Divison 5, Ra Nagara, Bangalore, 560010

Hegde, Indira. 2009. Bantaru Ondu Samajo-Sanskritika Adhyayana (Bunts – A Socio-Cultural Study), 2nd edition. Kannada Pusthaka Pradhikara, Government of Karnataka

Hegade, Rajarama. 1993. Bharatiya Murti Shastra, Dharma Devataradhane hagu Sanskritika Rajakiya Vishleshane (A Cultural and Political Analysis of the Indian Idol Worship, Dharma and Divinities. Arivu Barahu 5, Arivu Baraha Trust, Konaje, Mangalagangotri 574 119

Heggade, Sheenappa. 1991. Polali Sheenappa Heggade Samagra Sahitya. The Polali Sheenappa Heggade Birth Centenary Committee, Hema, Vidyanagar, Manipal

Hiremath, S. S. 1992. Habbagalu (Festivals). Karnataka Samskriti Parampare, Part 1, Samata Prakashana, Harapanapalli, 581 131

Kakemani. 1974. Koti Chennaya. Bharata Bharati Pusthaka Sampada, Bangalore

Kambara, Chandrashekhara. 1977. Preface to the book, Yaksha Yakshi. Chandra Sagara Varna Granthamale, 1075 – 5 Division, Ra Nagara, Bangalore – 560010

Karanth, Shivarama. 1967, 1940. Sirigannada Arthakosha (A Kannada Dictionary). Harsha Prakatanalaya, Puttur

Kille, N.S. and Heggade, Sheenappa. 1954. Prachina Tulunadu (Ancient Tulunadu). Indira Kille, Mangalore

Kittel F. (Rev). 1899. Kannada - English Dictionary. Basel Mission, Mangalore

Kotian, Mohan and Boloor, Harish, B. N. 1987. Tulu Itihasada Smaraka Enmuru Adi Baidarkala Garodi (The Monument of the Tuluva History: the Original Enmuru Garodi)

Kurup, K. K. N. 1973. The Cult of Teyyam and Hero worship in Kerala. Indian Publication, Calcutta.

paḍḍanas

Manner A. 1886. Paḍḍanoḷu. Basel Mission Press, Mangalore; reprint, 2008, Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy, Mangalore

Mangaluru Jarappa. 1930. Koti Chennaya Padya Malike (A Collection of Poems on Koti Chennaya). Ramani Ramana Grantha Male, Mangalore

Moodubelle, Muddu 1999. Koti Chennarena Padumale, Enmuru (Padumale and Enmuru of Koti Chennaya) in Puvari, Sahitya Samskriti Vedike, Belle – 570 120

Nagegowda, H. L. 1977. In Sandarshana, a commemorative volume on Tonse Madhava Pai. Vijaya college, Mulki

Nandavara, Vaman. 1987a. Tuluvere Kusal Kusel (The Fun and Frolic of the Tuluvas). Hemanshu Prakashana, Katipalla, 578 149.

_____. 1987 b. Singadana. Hemanshu Prakashana, Katipalla, 578 149

_____. 1988. Mitturu Jodu Bhutagalu (A Pair of Folk Deities of Mitturu). Chaitanyatra, Ubaradka, Mitturu, Sulya, D.K.

_____. 1992. Janapada Suttu Mutta (Around the People). Prajabhandu Prakshana,

Mangalore–575001

Navada, A. V. 1982. Tulu Paḍḍanagalu (Tulu Folk Songs), in Karnataka Janapada Samikshe, J. M. Paramashivaiah (ed). Vishva Kannada Sammelana, Nrapatunka Road, Bangalore - 2

Nayak, H. M. 1990 (1971). Janapada Svarupa (Nature of Folklore). T. M. Commemorative

Niranjana. 1973. Kride mattu Manollasa (Sport and Enjoyment). Jnanagangotri, Vol. 6, Karnataka Sahakari Prakashana, Bangalore

Padmanabha Somayaji. 1970. Koti Chennaya Kathe (Story of Koti Chennaya). Mangalore Trading Association Mangalore

Panje Mangesh Rao. 1930, 1952, 1973. Koti Chennaya. Longman Ltd. 36, Annamalai, Mount Road, Madras, 600002

Pai, Govinda. 1947. Tulunadu Purva Smrati, Tenkanadu (Memory of the Old Tulunadu). Svagatha Samiti 31st Kannada Sahitya Sammelana

Pandubettu, Venkataraya. 1938. Baiderkala Pratapa. Prabhat Stores, Udupi

Paramashivaiah, G. S. 1971. Janapada Kavya Kathegalu (The Verse Folk Stories). Suruchi Prakashana, Sarasvatipuram, Mysore: 9

Patali, K. C. 1989. Shri Padumale Kshetra Darshana (A Visit to the Holy Place, Padumale). Shree Bhagavati Prakashana, Padumale

Peruru Jaru. 1994 . Brahma Mattu Shiva Bhaktaru Yavagalu Vishnuvininda Hataraguvudeke? (Why are Devotees of Brahma and Shiva Always Killed by Brahma). Chitak Prakatanalaya

Poojary, K. K. 1961, reprint 1989. Vira Sahodararu Koti Chennaya (The Warrior Brothers – Koti Chennaya).

Puninchattaya, Venkataraja. 1977. Viraru Tulida Nela (The Land where the Heroes Strode), in Sudarshana. Commemoration Volume on Dr Tonse Madhava Pai. Vijaya College, Mulki

Punja, Ranganatha. 1947. Bhutaradhane (Spirit Worship). 31st Kannada Sahitya Sammelana,

Rai, Vivek, B. A. 1985 a. Tulu Janapada Sahitya (Tulu Folk Literature). Chamaraja Pete, Bangalore, 560018

_____. 1985 b. Anvayika Janapada (Comparative Folklore). Mangalagangotri, Mangalore University- 574199

Rajagopal, K. M. 1989. Tuluvara Acharaneyalli Kalavantike (Art in the Observances of the Tuluvas). Karnataka Lalita Kala Academy, Bangalore - 560001

Rao, Ramachandra, H. K. 1970. Murti Shilpa Nele Hinnele (Sculpture: Purpose and Background)

Rame Gowda. 1974. Janapada Kathe (The Folk Story), in Kannada Encyclopaedia Vol. 7, Kannada Adhyayana Sangha, Mysore University

Rao, Ullala Mangesh. 1939. Koti Chennaya. Hosa Kannada Pathamale 4, Bala Sahitya Mandala, Mangalore.

Rasika Puttige. 1971. Koti Chennaya. I. B. H. Prakashana, Gandhinagar, Boloor

Satyanatha T. S. 1988. Kannada Janapadada Kelavu Mukhagalu (Important Aspects of the Kannada Folklore). Sharada Prakashana, Gandhinagara, Bangalore–9.

Sharma, Kadava Shambhu .1970. Tulu Bhasha Vichara (Reflection on the Tulu Language)

Shetty, K. J. Kadandale. 1973. Tulunada Siri (Siri of Tulunad). Kadandale, D. K.

Shetty, Sitanadi Ganapayya. 1978. Koti Chennaya. Subodha Sahitya Male, Hiriyadka

Shivarama Shishila. 1987. Koti Chennaya. Uga Purusha, Kinnigoli

Tantri, Shripati. 1994. Sanatana Dharma. S. B. S. Publications, Distributors, Kumara Park, East, Bangalore - 1

Upadhyaya, Shusheela P. 1989. Janapada Aradhane Mattu Rangakale (Folk Worship and Performing Arts). R. R. C. M. G. M. College, Udupi – 576 102

Veeranna C. 1981. Kannada Pritibhatane Kavya (Revolutionary Songs of Karnataka). Kannada Sahitya Parishad, Chamaraja Pete, Bangalore

Venkata Rayacharya. 1956. Janapada Kathegalu (Folk Stories). Ondaneya Pusthaka Male, Prabhat Press, Rathabidhi, Mangalore

Venkatasubbayya. 1975. Sankshipta Kannada Nighantu (A Short Kannada Dictionary). Kannada Parishattu, Chamarajapeete, Bangalore, 18

Vishukumar. 1967. Koti Chennaya. Nisarga, Maroli, Padilu, Mangalore – 575 007

Yajnavathi Keshava Kangan. 1994. Paḍdanadalli Koti Chennaya (Koti Chennaya in Folk Songs) in Samskritika Tulunadu. Chandrika Prakashana, Mangalore – 575 001

Yoshida Astsuhiko : 1974. Epic in Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chicago

Prabhu, N. S. Koti Chennaya: A Folk Story. 1958. A Souvenir: The Canara Industrial and Banking, Syndicate Bank, Udupi.

Rao, Shamala. 1992. Wood God. The Deccan Herald, 11 – 02 – 1992

Shetty, Balakrishna Polali. Koti Chennaya – A Folktale of Tulunadu. Suguna Digest. June – March 1992, June - Sept. Car Street, Udupi

Bhandari, Madhavi. 1994. Samaja Mitra (A Friend of the Society), A monthly. Mannagudde, Mangalore: 575 003.

Ekkar, Gananatha. 1989. Rashi Tulu Janapada Patrike, June issue No. 1 and 2. Majikere Post, Ekkaru, Mangalore Taluk, D. K.

Malpe, Kishnappa. 1990. Koti Chennaya. Shree Brahma Baidarkala Samskritika Adhyayana Pratisthana, Adi Udupi, Udupi

Padekall Vishnu Bhat. 1994. Vitla Arasumanetana (The Royal Household of Vitla).

Chamara, Shri Ravi Verma Krishnaraja Arasara Sanmana Samiti, Vitla, D. K.

Rai, Subbanna K. 1994. Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Aitihyagalu (Legends of Dakshina Kannada). Mani Junior Chambers, Mani: 574 253

Rao, Ramachandra T. : 1992. Bhavyakya Bimbisuva Jatra (The Fair that Reflects Emotions). Prajavani. 28 – 2 – 93

Sahityananda and A. Gopal. Manaseleda Vishistha Shailiya Phaadava Kale (The Absorbing and Unique Phadava Art). Udyavani. 4 – 2 – 1990

Shetty, Jagadish B. 1988. Gaddegala Hesarugalu, ondu Adhyayana (Names of Paddy Fields – A Study). The Udayavani. 7 – 5 – 1988, Manipal

Tudiyadka Vishnayya. 1984. Taccholi Chandu, Garadi Mattu Sulya (Taccholi Chandu, Garadi and Sulya). Udayavani, Manipal

Venkataraja Puninchattaya. 1985. Vaḍakkan Paṭugaḷalli Varṇitavada Tulunadu (Tulunadu as described in the Vaḍakkan Paṭu Compositions). Kasargod District Souvenir

Books on Koti Chennaya published after the publication of Dr Vamana Nandavara's book

Amin, Bannanje Babu. 2011. Garodi Ondu Chintane. Kemmalaje Janapada Prakashana, Nitturu, Udupi

Kalmady, Damodar (ed). 2002. Koti Chennaya Paḍdana Samputa. Kannada Pustaka Pradhikara, Bangalore

Shetty, Bola Chittaranjana. 2013. Athithi Nammamma, Koti Chennayara Anthrageethe, Tulu Nada Kedage—Siri Devi, Maava Aliya Kattale Paḍdana. Nagashakti Prakashana, Classic Paradise,

Karnad Sadashiva Road, Mangalore 575 001

Shetty, Bola Chittaranjana. 2009. Amar Birere Mamanne, Tammale Aruvatte Katt, Koti Chennaya Paḍdana. Nagashakti Prakashana, Classic Paradise, Karnad Sadashiva Road, Mangalore 575 001

Vamana Nandavara (chief editor). 2009. Koti Chennaya of Panje (including story on Dombara Chenna, Kadekanji, and Agoli Manjana). Vishva Tulu Sammelana, 2009, Ujire,

Vamana Nandavara (chief editor). 2009. Koti Chennaya Radd Natakolu by: 1 Vishukumar 2 Seetanadi Ganapayya. Vishva Tulu Sammelana, 2009, Ujire, 574 240

Vamana Nandavara (chief editor). 2009. Koti Chennaya Kavya by Doomappa Master. Vishva Tulu Sammelana, 2009, Ujire, 574 240

Poojary, Shankara Narayana D. (SND Poojary). 2007. Epic of the Warriors, translation of Damodar Kalmady's Koti Chennaya Paḍdana Samputa. National Folklore Support Centre, Kaveri Complex, 96, M. G. Road, Nungambakkam, Chennai, 600 034

_____. 2009. The Tale of the Twin Warriors (Koti Chennaya), translation of Bannanje Babu Amin's Koti Chennaya. Sahitya Akademi, Centre for Translation, Central College Complex, Dr B. R. Ambedkar Veedhi, Bangalore 560 001.

_____. 2010. Deyi Baidedi: A Woman of Indomitable Will, translation of Yashavanthi S. Suvarna's Deyi Baidedi in Tulu. Rani Abbakka Tulu Adhyayana Kendra, Sanchayagiri, B. C. Road, Bantwal, 574 219

_____. 2013. Mayandal: Folk Deity of Women's Concerns, translation of Yashavanthi S. Suvarna's Mayandal in Tulu. Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy, Lalbag, Mangalore, 575 003

Index

A

Abbaga Daraga 37, 174
Abbakka 36, 87, 144, 145, 148
Abdulla 87, 93, 97,
Abhaya Kumar 14, 208
aboriginal 50, 51, 133, 148, 149,162, 224
Achi 88, 170
Adam and Eve 162
agrestic serfs 83
alade 143, 147 – 9, 174, 233
Arasu Ballala 80
Aliya Santana Code 86
Agoli Manjanna 4, 36
Amana Bannaya 21, 63, 83, 243
Amritha Someshwar 10, 11, 14, 121, 173, 179
Anandakumara 150
Anantharamu K. 6 14
Anantharamu Bangadi 8
ancestor worship 33, 35, 39
androgynous 176
Anilaje field 23, 24, 71
AnkeUmmaya 175
anthropomorphic spirits 33
apotheosized 20, 33, 35, 36, 123, 159, 169, 221, 228
aradala 192
ArasuBallala 96
archetype 167, 168
Aristotle 219
Arnold Balke 2
Aryan 142, 149,151, 181
Ashvini 176, 225
Attavara Deyyangulu 9, 212
authentic 68, 195, 217, 233, 236
Axel Olrik 225

B

Babu Parava 44, 140, 158, 189, 205, 234
badakayigange 37, 96
Bairava Sooda 173
bakimar 54, 63, 97, 174
Bakudas 9, 64, 83, 228
Balakrishna Shetty, A. Polali, 5
ballad, 4, 27, 36,
Ballala, M. B. 80
ballaya 23, 31, 43, 47, 56, 66, 77, 82, 83, 116
Balipa Nanaya and Pilipa Nanaya, 119, 120
Bamalla Kumara 21, 53, 62, 141, 240
Bannanje Babu Amin 8, 9, 13, 31, 35, 121, 125, 126, 128, 137, 138, 144, 154, 157, 160, 182
Bantabhuta 231
Bantere Sandi 18, 70
Bappanad 40, 122, 229
bardic singers 217
barke 75, 207
Bascom, William 28
Basel Mission, 2, 15
Bermasthana 9
Bermere Gunda 112, 113, 120, 136, 181,183, 200, 201, 202
Bhadra Kadenju 155, 169
Bhagavata 32, 60
Bharamappa 145
Bilimale 48
bipartite world 151
Biruva 3, 54, 81, 82, 131
Blackburn 49, 50, 152, 207, 208, 212, 213, 218, 220, 221
Bobbarya 145, 161, 225, 235
Bomma 145
Brahma Baiderkala Samskritika Pratishtana 2
Brahmarakshasa 36
Brahmins 21 80, 82 – 5, 113, 114, 116, 118, 130, 131, 139, 142, 229, 234
Brenda Beck 214
Budu 75, 80, 130, 201
Budu Bommaya 21, 43, 82, 83
Bunts 33, 73, 80, 83, 111, 120, 126, 130, 131, 156, 157
Burnell A. C. 1, 17, 111, 124, 139, 151, 178
Byari 98, 145

C
Caldwell, Robert 39
Carl Jung 166, 167
Chandrashekhara Kambara 78
Chandrakala Nandavar 94
Chandugidi 20, 25, 31, 64, 65, 83, 92, 103, 104, 107, 108, 124, 154, 186, 216, 225
chapparambu 35, 192, 235
Chattopadhyaya, Devi Prasad 134, 148
Chatu and Chandu 21, 83
ChavadiSantaya 21, 83, 101
Chinnappa Gowda 11, 17, 128, 145, 155, 175, 195, 208
classification of *bhutas /daivas*34
cognomen 97
collective unconscious 234
conscience 166
context of performance 16, 195
cosmogency 220
cult dancers 188, 223
cultural heroes 11,14, 18, 27, 33, 39, 60,121, 123, 157

D
Dalit 98, 210, 227
Damodara Rao, B. 12
Dangu Panara 45, 46, 141, 150, 152, 234
Dasayya 186, 190
deification 28,
delusion 162, 165, 167, 224
depressed class 228, 235
depth sequence 206
Dere 20, 58, 64, 74, 83, 216
Devanna Ballala 30, 31
Deva Ballala 31, 89, 90, 105, 106, 110
Devil Worship 2
Devu Punja 9, 36, 155, 156
Deyi Baidedi 2, 16, 20, 21, 25, 28, 30, 32, 35, 36, 43, 49, 53, 62, 63, 71, 77, 81, 87, 92 - 4, 96, 97, 141, 161,165, 169, 182 – 4, 207, 208, 214, 221, 233
Deyyar Giliramu 21
dharmakatte 64
Domba Heggade 80, 111
Duggame 159, 160
Duggana Konde 155
Dumappa Master 7

E
Edward B. Taylor 162
egò 166
Ekana Saler 51, 53, 62, 141
Electra 166
Enmur battle 91, 184
Enmur Deyya 155, 169
Enmuru Katta Budu 109, 110
Eraje 21, 63, 96, 110, 154, 240 , 241
Erick Fromm 108

F
fairy tale 168, 209
Fakira Poojary 184
ferocious spirit 11, 34
fertility deity 148, 149, 157, 221, 234
fertility worship 33
field song 41, 45, 148, 198, 234
flood of flowing blood 31
folk culture 17, 61, 85, 193, 228
folk deities are worshipped in the *garodis* 161
folk drama 4, 119, 222, 223
folklore 1, 13, 20, 27, 28, 30, 33, 48, 66-8, 89, 91, 142, 177, 180, 197, 208, 210, 217, 218, 222, 233
folkloristic 1, 11, 17
folk festivals 11, 222
folk medicine 1, 21, 32, 76-8, 163
folk tale3, 11, 27, 28
forms of propitiation ritual 230
Frazer, J. G. 162, 163
Frank Korom 167, 168
Furtado, S. R. 9, 18

G
Ganapati Rao Aigal 80
gaggara 34, 116, 192
gaggaradecchi 34
Ganganna Ekkar 184, 221
Ganesh Amin Sankamar 6
gariya 200, 201, 204

gejjatti 65, 139
Gejjegiri Nandana Hittilu 95, 96
Gilgamesh 235
Ginde 42, 209
Ghosh, Amitav 145
Goa 85
Golden Bough 162
Gopala Naika 67, 68, 196, 234
govala 83
GovindaPai 39, 42
grandmother-tales 29
gurikara 75
gurukamba 120, 136
Guru Narayana Swami 129, 222
Gururaja Bhat, 10, 84, 91, 143, 144, 179
*guttu*37, 75, 76, 109, 123, 129
gymnasium 43

H

halo 34,193,235, 236
hallucination 163
Hampa Nagarajayya 146, 150
Hanuman 233
Haridas Bhat, K. S. 4
Harish Boloor, B. N. 5, 12
Hatto, A. T. 217, 218
heightened emotionality 206, 207
hero-worship tradition 11, 223
hero-stone shrines 112
historical epic 50, 226
historical remains 12, 91, 92, 94, 98, 99, 100, 104, 116, 120, 171, 234
H. M. Nayak 187
Homer 197, 219
homo sapiens 168

I

Ijanagara 63
Ikkeri Nayakas 89
Indus Valley 133, 149
interpolation 208
invisible world 33, 97
Isara Kambi 22

J

Jan De Vries 214, 215
Jains 33, 80, 85, 86,111, 125, 127, 128, 130, 131,143, 144, 14, 156, 157, 209, 229, 236
Jain *agel* 80
Jain Bunts 86,
Jain saints 150
jantijolige 173
Jan Vansina 180
Jarandaya 8, 123, 161
Jaru Kothari 65
Jatadhari 34, 128, 230
Jason, Heda 59
Javare Gowda 117
Jaya Vijaya 117, 175, 176
Jevu Kedage 21, 62, 71, 94, 95, 164, 241, 242
Jogi Purusha 16, 35, 160, 161, 186, 235
jyotikolu 173

K

kadenjikayigobbu 22
kadoni 231
Kadri 81, 114, 161, 186
kaidambe 76
Kaintaje Narasimha Bhat 6
Kakemani 4
Kalkuda Kallurti 85, 172
kallakalembi 173
Kalevala 19
Kamalaksha 189
Kanada Katada , 60, 88, 89
Kanaradi Vadiraja Bhat, 10
kanchil 78, 203
Kanna Bhandari87
Kantabare Budabare 79, 88, 119, 138, 170, 175, 225
Kantakka 64, 83, 100, 111
Kantana Baidya 21, 92, 96
Karamkar 149
Kargi 157
Kariya KasingaBeliya Desinga 174
Karkala 38, 127
kebina 191, 235
Keddasa 31

Kelata Perne 155, 168, 169
Kemara Ballala 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 65, 86, 91, 104, 17, 186, 253, 254
Kempu Gendali Bapu Badangala 22
Kille, N.S. 4,
Kinni Chennaya 25, 65, 105
Kinnidaru 20, 25, 28, 29, 30, 35, 43, 71, 76, 102, 103, 129, 154, 15, 161, 16, 185, 215, 236
Koddabbu 36, 60, 88, 142
Konkani Lexicon 2
Koraga 9, 64, 66, 73, 83, 148, 200, 228, 247
Koraga Taniya 36, 60, 81, 88
Koragappa Poojary 45, 53, 111, 141
Kosambi, D. D. 147
Kotsara Alva 174,
Krishnamurthy K. 219
Krishnaiah, S. A. 17, 200
Krishnappa Malpe 13, 91
Kujumba Kanja 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 26, 35, 64, 112, 129, 151-6, 161, 169, 179, 189, 202 207, 208, 235, 249
Kukkundoor 171
Kulala 188,
Kurup, K. K. N. 122, 211

L
Lakkappa Gowda 220
Lauri Honko 2, 14, 67, 195, 196, 217
layout of a typical village house 185
Lekkesiri 38, 142-4, 147, 149, 230
linguistic designation 34
Lonnrot 218
Laxmi Narayana Rai 6
Leela Bhat, 11, 12
libido 165
Lonnrot 218

M
Madikeri 126, 138, 235
magical practice 53, 77, 162, 233
Mahabharata 32, 49, 149, 219, 221
Mahatma Gandhi 73, 222
Malinowski 28, 162
Mallodi 43, 60, 82
Manner A. 8, 9, 15, 18, 19, 76, 179
mānes 31, 181
Mangaluru Jarappa 6
Manjalpade 26, 108, 110
Manju Pergade 31, 102, 107
Mansa 33
Mantesvami 13
martial epics 215
Martha Aston 230
matrilineal 86, 88, 119, 122, 188
Mayandal 5, 16, 35, 136, 156 -160, 169, 191, 207, 208
Merchell, George 134
miracle cycle 50
Mogaveera 73, 145, 188
Mögling 2, 3, 6, 9
Mohan Kotian 9, 13, 35, 121, 125, 126, 128, 138, 144, 154, 157, 160, 182
Monte Gowda 31, 42, 43, 45, 54, 59, 67, 68, 72, 140, 141, 234, 186, 234
Muddu Moodubelle 14
Muddu Suvarna 14
Mugera 9, 66, 73, 93, 131, 156, 188, 210, 228, 247
Muggerlu 33, 168, 230, 236
Mujamdar, R. C. 149
mula 71, 72
multi form 67
Mumbai 126, 138, 235
Mundala 157, 169, 175, 188, 210
Muslim children 161
mythic epics 50
mythological spirits 33

N
Nadava 80, 82, 85
Nadka 90, 91, 100
Nagabrahma 106, 142, 144, 148, 149, 151, 174, 179
Nagabhushana, O. L. 197, 233
names of some of the callings 82
Namiraja Malla 188
Naranga Parava 234
Natha sect 81, 161,198

Navada, A. V. 11
Nayak, H. M. 223
Nayari community 116 – 9, 138
Niranjana 135, 149

O

occupational groups 66, 79
Oedipus complex 165, 166
Oinas, Felix, J. 49, 218, 220
Oral Formulaic theory 41
oral history 61, 89, 91 - 3
oral traditions 1, 14, 39, 41, 60, 84, 133, 180, 217

P

Padekall Vishnu Bhat 80
Padmanabha Somayaji 4
Panara 34, 35
PanchaBhana 150
panchakajjaya 201
PandubettuVenkataraya 201
PanjeMangesh Rao 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 15
Paramashivayya, G.S. 214
Parai 188, 210
Paravas 5, 13, 68, 152, 153, 172, 181 – 3, 187, 188, 195, 198, 199, 200
parengi 43
Parry-Lord principle 41
pastime activities 9
Patali, K. C. 96, 171
patrilineal 8, 188
PattaNayak 5,
PayyaBaidya 25, 35, 43, 71, 83, 103, 155, 156, 184
Pejanar 21, 28, 62, 71, 163, 164
performance-centred approach 180
performance markers 180, 207, 208
performance studies 208
Peter, Claus. J. 2, 12, 13, 34, 45, 68, 146, 148, 151, 157, 159, 160, 167, 168, 177,179, 207, 211
petty kings 75
Pietro Della Valle 144, 145, 148
Pilikunji 90, 91, 103, 104, 106
places of worship of the Tuluvas 33
poli 74
Poojary, K. K. 6
Poojary, Vishvanatha 205
popular antiquities 1
popular culture1
Portuguese 85, 87, 115
powerful folk deities 128
Prabhu, N. S. 4
Prajapati 99, 149
pratime 134
profane 161, 224
professional singers of folk epics 187, 188
projection 151
psychoanalysis 168
Pumani Kinnimani 92, 99, 171
Pundikayi Ganapayya Bhat 80
PurushaVeesha 186, 197, 198

R

Raglan 91, 208
R. C. Temple 2, 17
rajandaiva 37, 96
RajaramaHegade 147, 150
Ramachandra Rao, H. K. 111
Ramadasa 135
Ramakka Gidikare 234
Rama Kirodiyan, B. 7
Ramakka Poojarthi 19, 45, 140, 141
Ramayana 32, 218, 219, 225
Rame Gowda 225
Rashtra Kavi Govind Pai Samshodhana Kendra 2
R. R. C. 2, 14, 15, 17
Rasika Puttige 4, 7
ritual theatre 156, 177, 191, 193, 231, 235
romantic epics 214
Rupakala Alva 79

S

sakanadalya 201
Saletore, B. A. 9, 84
sanctum sanctorum 112, 136, 181
Sanjeeva Prabhu 9
Saroli Saimanja Katte 96
satiputraru 147

Satyanatha T. S. 13
satyolu 177
Sayana Baidya 20 21, 30, 53. 54, 62, 71, 76, 81, 88, 105, 161, 164, 184, 185
Shambu Kalkuda 172, 173
Shankar Bhat, B. 10
Shankaranarayana, T. N. 197
Sharma, B. M. 10
Sheenappa Heggade 4, 80, 85, 86, 89, 131, 142, 143, 147, 179,
Shetty, K. J. 174
Shiva Billava, 6
Shivalli Brahmins 86, 96
Shivaprasad 7
Shivarama Shishila 7
Shivarama Karanth 81, 168
Sigmund Freud 165 - 8
Siri worship 33, 37
Sithanadi Ganapayya Shetty 7
Somappa Suvarna 122
Sonne Soyi Baidedi 81, 169
Stuart 78
Subbanna Rai, K 14

T
Talakaveri 38, 40, 66, 71
Tannimaniga 128, 142, 155, 157, 160, 168, 169, 177, 182, 225, 230, 236
Taranatha Ballaya 8
tavu 121, 123
tembare 48
The New Book of Knowledge 3, 17
Timmannajila 173
Tippu Sultan 90
totemic animal spirits 33
Totemism 162
transitional sequences 207, 208
tutelary spirit 99, 159, 229
types of residences 75

U
Ullala Mangesharaya 7
unconscious 165, 166, 234
Upadhyaya, Susheela P. 13
Upadhyaya, U. P. 12
Uttanadi Purusha and Jagannadi Purusha 161, 173, 174

V
Valentina Stache-Rosen 11
Vamana Nandavara 12
Vapatti Madimal 21
varan 74
Vasanta Madhava, K. J. 113
Vasant Shetty 160
Veeranna, C 52, 114
Veerappa Gowda 42, 59
Venkatarayacharya 4
Venkaraja Puninchattaya 4
Venkatasubbayya 121, 202
Vergil 197
Vishukumar 7, 14, 15, 31
Vivek Rai, B. A. 5, 11,12, 16, 17, 27, 31, 34, 39, 48, 69, 84 – 6,91, 144, 145, 176, 188, 199, 210
Vladimir Propp 217
Voltaire 219

W
M. J. Walhouse 188
worship traditions of Tuluvas 33

Y
Yajnavathi Keshava Kangan 6
Yakshabrahma 144, 148, 179, 233
Yaksha and Yakshi 150
Yakshagana 8, 15 – 17, 31, 60, 119, 199, 223 – 7, 229, 230
yetpicchi 9
Yoshida Astsuhiko 219

Z
zamindari system 51
Zimmer, Heinrich 148

Government of Karnataka

Karnataka Tulu Sahithya Acadamy (2014)

President : **Janaki M. Brahmavara**
'Pavana', Kapila Compound, Herooru, Brahmavara - 576 213 Tel. : 0820-2561063/8105758930

Registrar : **Chandrahasa Rai B.**
'Samruddhi', Opp. Sudhana Residencial School, Manjalpadpu Nagara, Puttur - 3
Mobile : 9449842183

Members

Prof. D. Vedavathi
'Sri Dhama', Opp. Vidyanjaneya Vyayama Shaale, Bikarnakatte, Mangaluru - 15
Tel. : 0824-2212844/9341370754

Sri. D.M. Kulal
'Kamadhenu', Daipala, B Mooda Village, B.C. Road, Bantwala Taluk Mobile : 9448344633

Sri. Subhaschandra Padival
Maldottu Guthu, Banangadi Post, Via Moodubidire Mobile : 9980038007

Sri. Kumbra Durgaprasad Rai A.
Advocate, Rai & Rai Associates, Designer Complex, Court Road, Puttur Mobile : 9480164641

Smt. Jayasheela
'Sri Hariprasad', D/N 1-81(B), Jodukatte, Maroli, Post Kulshekar, Mangaluru Mobile : 9986449423

Sri. Mohan Koppala
Koppala House, Opp. Kadri Temple, Kadri, Mangaluru - 575 002 Mobile : 9343342379

Sri. Vasantha Shetty Bellare
B-1226, 2nd Floor, Green Filed, Faridabad-121003
Mobile : 09958697823 Email : vasanthshetty1962@gmail.com

Sri. Krishnappa Uppuru
Siddhartha Residency, Flat No. 502, Brahmavara Post, Udupi Taluk - 576213
Tel. : 0820-2587241/ 9880070741 Email : kuppoordr@yahoo.com

Sri Raghu Idkidu
'Suma', Near Manipal School, Attavara, Mangaluru - 575 001
Mobile : 9449510848 Email : raghuidk@yahoo.com

Smt. Roopakala Alva
701, Fantasy Residencies, K.R.R. Road, Kodialbail, Mangaluru - 575 003 Mobile : 9945396676

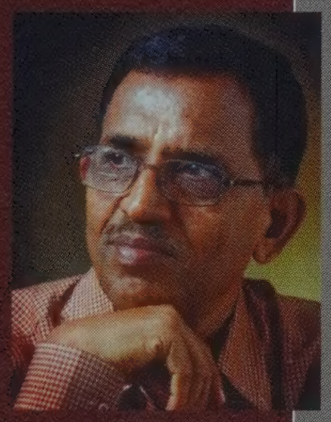
Sri. K.T. Vishwanatha
Koyikoli House, Duggaladka Post, Sulya Taluk - 574 239 Mobile : 9448464593

Sri. Naveen D. Padil
'Heramba Nilaya', Near Padil Overbridge, Mangaluru - 575 007 Mobile : 8197091338

Sri. Diva Kokkada
Lecturer, Kannada Department, Sri Dharmasthala Manjunatheshwara College, Ujire
Mobile : 9902032480

Government notification No. : ಕಸಂವಾ 817ಕಸಧ 2013/(11)26–02–2014

Koti Chennaya : A Folkloristic Study is the English version of the Kannada original, Koti Chennaya : Jānapadīya Adhyayana by Dr Vamana Nandavara. He has not only chronicled the exploits and heroism of Koti and Chennaya, he has also tried to interpret the events and personalities narrated in the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana. He has collected different versions of the Koti Chennaya Pāḍdana and used them to prepare a comprehensive account of the Koti Chennaya legend. The history on Koti and Chennaya may be elusive; but, Koti and Chennaya are venerated and worshipped by the Tuluvas; there are more than 200 garodis (shrines) of them. Dr Nandavara has toiled to collect every bit of information on Koti and Chennaya and presented the collected information in a well-designed research study. An English version of the book may perhaps help those who would like to know more about the mystique of Koti and Chennaya and the enchanting cultural landscape of Tulunadu, the land of bhutas, the local deities.



Dr. Vamana Nandavara

Folklore scholar. He participated in International Folklore seminars and workshops. He served as a faculty at St. Ann's Teachers Training Institute, Mangaluru. He was the founder Principal of Sahyadri Institute of Teacher Education, Mangaluru. He is a prolific writer and has authored more than 40 books on Tulu literature and folklore both in Kannada/Tulu. 'Koti Chennaya : A Folkloristic Study' is his Ph.D. thesis and Prof. B.A. Viveka Rai was his Supervisor. He was awarded the Ph.D. degree for his work by the Mangalore University. He is the founder of Hemamshu Prakashana, which published 78 titles so far. He has received innumerable awards, citations, and felicitations. He is a former President of the Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy, Mangalore.

SND Poojary

He worked as a lecturer and then as Vice Principal of MES College of Arts and Commerce, Zuarinagar, Goa. He has nine titles to his credit including two biographies. He has translated into English Dr Indira Hegde's book on Bunts: Bunts (A Socio-Cultural Study, 2015) and it is published by Government of Karnataka. He is from Murngi House, Nakre, Karkala; however, he resides in Miramar, Goa.

KARNATAKA TULU SAHITHYA ACADEMY Rs. 500